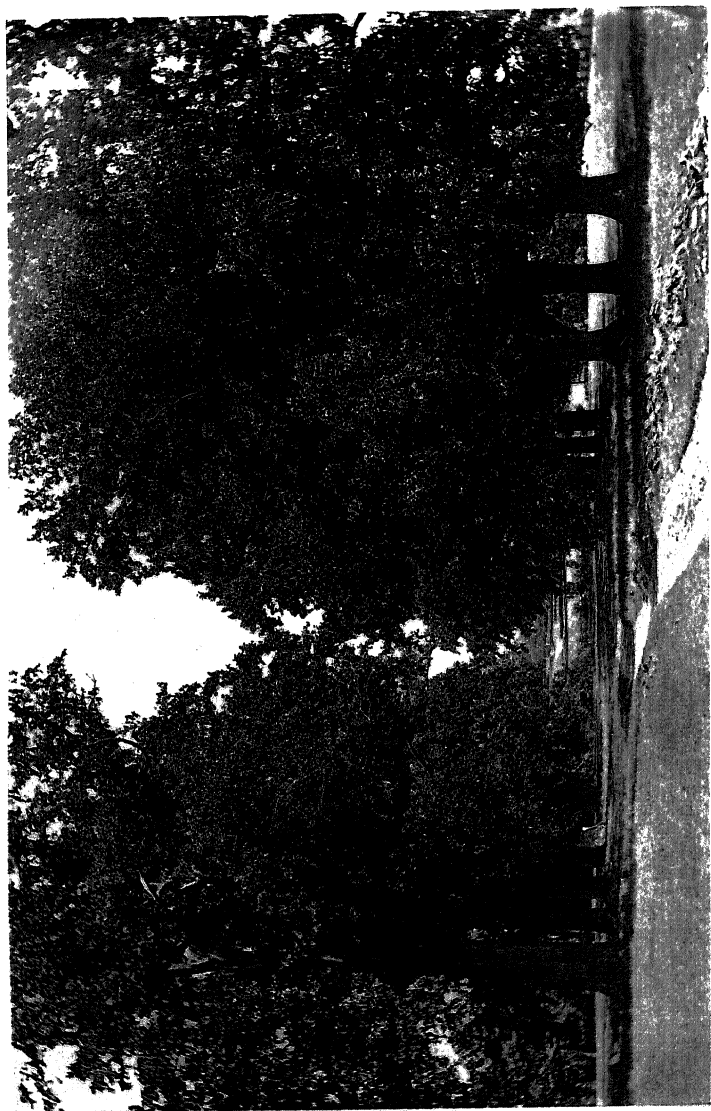


PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN

Journal and Letters

1767—1774 .



OLD POPLAR AVENUE AT NOMINI HALL

PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN
JOURNAL AND LETTERS

1767—1774

STUDENT AT PRINCETON COLLEGE 1770-72 TUTOR AT
NOMINI HALL IN VIRGINIA 1773-74

EDITED FOR
THE PRINCETON HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
BY
JOHN ROGERS WILLIAMS

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1900

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Philip Vickers Fithian was born December 29th, 1747; was a student at Princeton College, 1770-'72, at the same time with Henry Lee, Aaron Burr, and James Madison; studied theology 1772-'73; taught in Virginia, 1773-'74; and was sent as a missionary among the pioneer settlers of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1775-'76. Returning, he enlisted as chaplain in Heard's brigade of New Jersey militia, July 12th, 1776, served under Washington during the battles of Long Island and Harlem Heights, sickened of a camp epidemic, and died near Fort Washington, October 8th, 1776.

Philip Fithian's papers have been carefully preserved in the family, and are now the property of Mrs. Edward W. Hitchcock¹ of Philadelphia, a descendant of the Fithian family, through whose courtesy this selection is now published.

The papers consist of seven manuscript volumes, containing Fithian's diary from 1766-'67, and from 1773-'76, together with school and college exercises, problems, orations, and letter-books. They are at present deposited in the Princeton University Library for transcription. It was probably owing to the private nature of many of the letters addressed to "a young lady under the name of Laura" (Elizabeth Beatty), whom Fithian afterwards married, that these papers have not heretofore been published.

The volume now published covers the period 1767—

¹ Mrs. Hitchcock died August 15th, 1900, while this book was in press.

1773, and contains the Journal, together with a selection from the correspondence, of Philip Fithian during the period while he was a student at Princeton College, and afterwards while he was tutor in the family of "Councillor" Robert Carter of Virginia.¹

Many of the letters being of too intimate and personal or too trivial a character for publication, the aim has been in general to present such as have some bearing on historic places or personages, together with representative ones showing his own character and circumstances. It is a matter of regret that Fithian appears to have given up his diary during the two years while he was a student at Nassau Hall, but his correspondence of those days, containing as it does an interesting description of Princeton, its college life and quaint customs, and "the sundry and wanton mischiefs" practiced with all the zest of more modern years, partly fills the gap.

The following sketch of the ancestry and life of Philip Fithian is furnished by Miss Mary C. Fithian of Greenwich, New Jersey, to whom the editor feels indebted for interesting and valuable data concerning this journal:

"The earliest history that we have of the Fithian family is of William Fithian and Margaret his wife, who came from England and settled in East Hampton, in 1640 . . . Their children were, 1st, Enoch, who married M. Burnet of South Hampton; 2nd, Samuel, who married Priscilla Burnet of the same place; 3rd, Sarah; 4th, Hannah; 5th, Martha.

"Samuel, the second son, is the connecting link between William and Margaret of East Hampton, and the Fithians of Cumberland

¹ Selections from the Virginia journal of Philip Fithian appeared in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1900, with notes by Prof. J. Franklin Jameson and the editor of the present work. With this exception, and with the exception also of a few extracts relating to his missionary journey and to the Cohansey Tea Party, no considerable portions of the papers of Fithian have, so far as the editor can find, ever heretofore been printed.

County, New Jersey. The children of Samuel and Priscilla Burnet Fithian were, 1st, John; 2nd, Josiah; 3rd, Samuel; 4th, Esther; 5th, Mathias; 6th, William . . .

"Josiah, the second son, settled in Greenwich, Cumberland County, New Jersey. He was married to Sarah Dennis of Greenwich, Nov. 7th, 1706. Their children were, 1st, John; 2nd, Jeremiah; 3rd, Samuel; 4th, Hannah; 5th, Esther; 6th, Joseph; 7th, Sarah; 8th, Josiah.

"Joseph Fithian, fourth son of Josiah and Sarah Fithian, married Hannah Vickers, July 31st, 1746. Their eldest son, Philip Vickers Fithian, was born December 29th, 1747, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Charles Beatty, October 25th, 1775.

"He was more than a year private tutor in the family of Colonel Carter of Virginia. In connection with his cousin, Joel Fithian, his classmate Andrew Hunter, and near forty other young men, disguised as Indians, he assisted, Nov. 22d, 1774, in burning a cargo of tea that had been stored in Greenwich, on Cohansey Creek.

"He was licensed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, Dec. 6th, 1774, and was employed that winter in vacancies in West Jersey. He was appointed chaplain of the army early in 1776. At the battle of White Plains it is said he fought in the ranks. Shortly after he was attacked with dysentery, brought on by exposure in camp, and died October 8th, 1776, buried October 9th, Rev. William Hollingshead conducting the services."

Elizabeth, widow of Philip Fithian, afterward married his cousin Joel. Their youngest son, Dr. Enoch Fithian, inherited Philip Fithian's journal and letters, and at his death left them to his cousin, Mrs. Hitchcock.

Dr. Joseph Fithian of Woodbury, New Jersey, a nephew of Philip Fithian, in a note appended to one of the manuscript volumes, says of the orthography and punctuation:

"This Journal and these letters of Philip Vickers Fithian were transcribed by his brother Enoch, who, though a good and ready writer, was in other respects not well educated; and this will account for many errors in orthography, punctuation, the placing of capital letters, &c., &c. Enoch Fithian was a long time confined in consequence of a disease of one of his lower extremities, and being disabled in consequence from the performance of more active service, employed himself in copying, from loose and various sized papers, the matter in this and several other volumes."

Philip Fithian's impressions of the life and customs of the Old Dominion are most frank and pleasing. A

comparison of the social conditions existing in Virginia and in his native province of New Jersey, given at some length in a letter (pp. 283-298) of advice and instruction prepared for John Peck, his successor as tutor at Councillor Carter's, is especially interesting. The value of this letter is enhanced by the fact of its being the candid expression of the experience and observation of a year's residence in a community whose social relations differed radically from the quiet home life in New Jersey, a statement not prepared for publication, but written confidentially to a fellow-student and townsman. Situated as he was at Nomini Hall, in Westmoreland County, a focus for the wit and fashion of the neighborhood, he became at once a frequent guest at the homes of some of the best and most influential families in the colony, among whom were the Lees of Stratford, Lee Hall, and Chantilly, the Washingtons of Bushfield, the Turbervilles of Hickory Hill and Peckatone, and the Tayloes of Mount Airy. The account which he gives is a most delightful picture of the social life of the period, of refinement and culture, of elegance of living and lavish hospitality, of balls and fox-hunts, and an almost constant round of entertainments.

But those days are gone. A century and a quarter has passed and left behind the ineffaceable trace of war and its consequent desolation. As Mr. Churchill has written in his Foreword to *Richard Carvel*, "The lively capital that once reflected the wit and fashion of Europe has fallen in decay. The silent streets no more echo with the rumble of coaches and gay chariots, and grass grows where busy merchants trod. Stately ballrooms, where beauty reigned, are cold and empty and mildewed, and halls where laughter rang are silent." Bishop

Meade, writing in 1850 of the ruins of buildings in Westmoreland County, says in his *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*:¹ "By reason of the worth, talents, and patriotism which once adorned it, it was called the Athens of Virginia. But how few of the descendants of those who once were its ornaments are now to be found in it! Chantilly, Mount Pleasant, Wakefield, are now no more. Stratford alone remains. Where now are the venerable churches? . . . Yeocomico alone survives the general wreck. Of mansions, churches, etc., we are tempted to say, 'Fuit Illium, et ingens gloria Dardanidum;' and yet we rejoice to think that new ones have taken their places, . . . and we trust there awaits for Westmoreland a greater glory than the former."

Of the old buildings at Nomini Hall, nothing now remains. The great-house was destroyed by fire in 1850, after having withstood the storms of above an hundred winters. The noble old mansion was built by the Councillor's father, Robert Carter, a son of the great "King" Carter of Corotoman, between the years 1725-'32. Robert Carter (the Councillor), an only son, inherited this and a large estate comprising, as Fithian tells us, some sixty thousand acres, lying in different parts of the Province and in Maryland.

Glenn, in his *Some Colonial Mansions*,² says that the Nomini Hall estate consisted of two thousand five hundred acres, and that the dwelling-house was built in 1732. He also states³ that Colonel (Councillor) Carter, writing in 1776, speaks of himself as paying to "Lord Fairfax quit rents for sixty-three thousand and ninety-three acres, situate in his Lordship's territory, called

¹ V. II, pp. 170-171.

² V. I, p. 278.

³ V. I, p. 277.

the Northern Neck, which territory contains all my land within the Commonwealth of Virginia."

Fithian mentions land "far to the west" near the Great Meadows and Bull Run; if this be true, it is more than likely that the Councillor, who undoubtedly saw the coming rupture with the mother country, wisely sold or exchanged it for property nearer home.

In 1749 Robert Carter visited England, and while there had his portrait¹ painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Soon after his return to Virginia, he married Frances Ann Tasker, youngest daughter of the Hon. Benjamin Tasker of Maryland, the ceremony, an account of which is to be found in the *Maryland Gazette* for April 4th of that year, taking place at Annapolis, April 2, 1754.

Robert Carter's duties as a member of the Council required his presence at least twice a year at Williamsburg, and in 1761 he moved to that town with his family, where he resided for eleven years. Tiring, however, of the gay Virginia capital, and longing for the quiet life, the green fields, and sunny slopes of Nomini Hall, he removed thither in 1772. Doubtless, too, the change in politics which had begun to be felt, hastened this departure; but the Councillor cared little for the gayeties of the town with its whirl of social duties, ever preferring a quiet evening in his study, surrounded by his books and music, to the pleasures of ball or rout.

Robert Carter's attitude toward the initial steps in the great movement for independence, has led many to suppose him to have been a Tory. But this is not the case. From the most reliable sources of information, it is clearly shown that though opposed to measures of violence while they might be averted, in the redress of

¹ Reproduced by permission, p. 83.

wrongs; when the blow was struck and the rupture between King and Colonies made irreconcilable save by force of arms, no one was more convinced than Robert Carter of the justice of the colonists' cause, which he thenceforth openly espoused.

This attitude is well shown by an address to his slaves and their overseer on one of his plantations (Coles Point), upon a threatened incursion by Lord Dunmore, in 1776, which address was preserved by Councillor Carter in one of his letter-books, and is given at length by Glenn in his *Some Colonial Mansions*.¹ In this speech the Councillor observes that "the King of Great Britain had declared war against the people of the Colony of Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, . . . that many of the people in Great Britain disapproved of the present dispute between them and the 13 United Colonies in North America, and had refused to enlist as soldiers; therefore the King of G. B. had employed foreign soldiers to fight for him against us" . . . etc., thus clearly allying himself with the cause for which George Wythe, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Henry Lee—warm personal friends—were risking life and fortune.

Robert Carter's liberality is a matter of record. In later years he emancipated and provided for many of his slaves, and his generosity and kindness to Selim, the unfortunate Algerine, is spoken of by Bishop Meade in his *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*;² but it was toward the itinerant clergy that he exercised an almost unbounded liberality. Toward the close of his life the subject of religion seems to have engrossed his whole attention. Abandoning the Church of England, the religion of his fathers, he became a Baptist, fitting out a chapel in his own house at Nomini, where he

¹ V. I, p. 271, *et seq.*

² V. I, pp. 345-346.

entertained their preachers, many of whom, we are told, were supported, and in some cases educated by him. After a time he adopted the creed of Swedenborg, and in the end, as Meade quaintly expresses it, died "an unhappy, death-dreading Papist."

A true and courteous gentleman, kind and generous to a fault, good but eccentric, Robert Carter's life stands for much that was the best, with but few of the foibles of his time.

In the editorial work on this volume, there has been an earnest effort to avoid inaccuracies in the genealogical and historical references, but the extreme difficulty of obtaining correct data for such work can only be appreciated by one who has himself endeavored to untangle the web of Virginia genealogy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In those days family records were loosely kept, if kept at all, and unfortunately are seldom free from error.

Among the works that have proved of assistance in compiling the notes for this volume are: Maclean's *History of the College of New Jersey*; Hageman's *Princeton and its Institutions*; Lee's *Lee of Virginia*; Glenn's *Some Colonial Mansions*; the *Virginia Historical Collections*; Elmer's *History of Cumberland County* (N. J.); the *Carter Family Chart*, prepared by R. R. Carter, of Shirley, Virginia; the *Beatty Family Record*, compiled by Charles C. Beatty; *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of 1770-'73, and Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*.

The editor is indebted for valuable data and information to Miss Mary C. Fithian, of Greenwich, New Jersey; Mrs. Edward Hitchcock, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Elizabeth Brown, Westmoreland County, Virginia; Mr. Henry Tayloe, Richmond County, Virginia; President Lyon G. Tyler, of William and Mary College; Prof.

J. Franklin Jameson, Brown University; and to the courtesy of the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania and of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, all of which indebtedness is most gratefully acknowledged.

JOHN ROGERS WILLIAMS.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, PRINCETON, N. J., JUNE 20th, 1900.

PRINCETONIANA

1767—1773

PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN

JOURNAL AND LETTERS

1767—1774

A letter¹ to my Father, begging him to put me to
school: Written August 10th 1767, at GREENWICH.

DEAR FATHER,

Relaying on the Affection of a Parent, I have in this
letter, with all due Submission, but at the same time
the strongest Desire of obtaining my Purpose,
importuned to intreat your Encouragement & Assistance
that might put me to School.

The very great Inclination I find in myself to
pursue in Learning is the chief motive that excites
me to offer this Petition, and even this would have been
insufficient, had I any remote expectation of another
opportunity, if the one which now offers should be
passed by; And inasmuch as this is quite an unexpected,
and most likely, the only opportunity I shall ever have,

This and the succeeding letter show Fithian's strong desire for learning,
remarkable in those days. The following is taken from a juvenile diary,
Fithian prior to his entering Princeton College:—

“ Tuesday August 10th. (1767)

This morning I had the gracious and agreeable news from my Father that
he would let me go to school to Mr. Green

“ Monday 17th.

I went to school to the Rev. Enoch Green at Deerfield to learn Latin.”

This diary is not of enough general interest to warrant printing as a whole
volume.

of acquiring that, which through my whole Life I have most desired, I hope I shall be justified, dear Father, in pleading with you as earnestly as I am able, to grant me my Request.

When you was pleased the other Day, which was almost before I had heard anything of the Matter, to ask me whether I was desirous of Learning; & if I could compose myself to study? I could have then, dear Sir, immediately without any hesitation answered the first question; for it is indeed my chief Desire: And I cannot but suppose, in answer to the second, that this strong Desire of Knowledge, would prompt me to Study, & diligent Application, which are the natural, & necessary Means of acquiring it; for I can now with truth declare, that the most happy hours I find in life, or could even wish to enjoy, are those when I am quite alone & have free, & undisturbed Liberty to ponder over the Sentiments of some famous Writer.

I lay no claim at all to what I am now petitioning for as a natural Right; A limited necessary Education, which you have most kindly already been careful, in part, to bestow upon me, is all I could expect from the common Duty of a Parent: But I hold a free Education in so great Esteem, that I should choose for my Lot, to live in the World in low Condition, if Providence thought it necessary, as to Wealth and all outward Greatness, under the Frown of Fortune, & be blest with Learning, rather than possess the most ample Estate, & be blind with Ignorance: Nay, more, It would be my calm Choice, if I am not too much influenced by prejudice in my own favour, to choose for myself that my whole Patrimony if you shall please to grant me any, be applied to help in finishing my Education, even if it should be all expended.

I shall say no more, but most submissively offer these things to your Consideration; the Sum of which in a Word, is, my humble, and earnest Petition, that I may be put to School: The event is wholly uncertain, & must be left with him who knoweth all things, & is the Disposer of all Events.

I am, very dear Father,
with great Respect,
your dutiful Son

August 10th, 1767.

PHILIP FITHIAN.

A Letter to my Father, giving him Thanks for his kindness in putting & keeping me at School.

Written at DEERFIELD, Sept: 28th 1769.

DEAR FATHER,

The Duty of a Child to a Parent is, Obedience, Love, & all kinds of Regard; If therefore I am destitute of these, I do manifest Violence to the Commands of Nature: As the Condition of Life in which I am through your kind Care at present placed seems to make it most proper that I should by Letter communicate my Sentiments, I very gladly improve the Oppertunity, & present you, dear Sir, with these Lines, which are the Return of Gratitude I very sincerely offer for your distinguished Kindness.

However vain the Attempt may be for a youth to satisfy the pains of a Parent in educating him, yet any Child is most certainly to blame whenever he fails of doing the utmost of his Duty; those ind. are very rare who duely perform parental Duties, yet those few are found happy in almost any Circumstance.

certainly by your good permission, I shall to the utmost of my Abilities strive to accomplish it.

If there is anything more I would say I should ask your Pardon for this Presumption, & hope for your Protection & Assistance, & also for your Prayers to almighty God, that I may always continue, what I have ever desired to be your dutiful

& beloved

Son,

Sept: 28th 1769.

PHILIP FITHIAN.

A Letter to my Father, acquainting him with my Admission into the *College*; & with some of the Customs of that Place.

Written at NASSAU HALL,¹ in Princeton Novem: 30th Anno 1770.

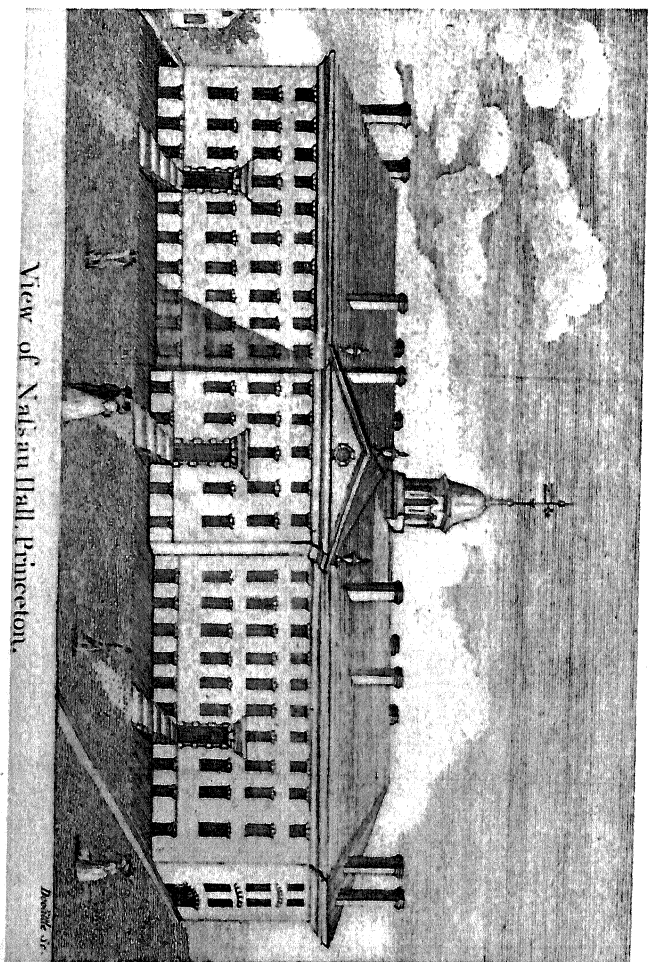
VERY DEAR FATHER.

Altho' I am very busy seeing I begun to study three Weeks later than the rest of our Class, yet I think it my Duty to give you Notice of my Admission to this flourishing *Seminary* of Learning, which is another grand Step towards the Summit of my Wishes; And I shall also mention as many of the Customs, as my

¹ It is interesting to note that the name first suggested by the Trustees for this building, was "Belcher Hall", after Governor Belcher, who granted the College charter, and who had liberally contributed toward the expense of its erection. With rare modesty however he declined the honor, at the same time expressing a desire that the building should be called "Nassau Hall", in honor of King William the Third, a branch of the House of Nassau. From the name given to this first edifice, the College itself came to be generally known as Nassau Hall.

NASSAU HALL

From an engraving by Doolittle



View of Nassau Hall, Princeton.

Doodie sc.

short Acquaintance with the College & Students will allow me, & as any thing new occurs shall not fail at any time to transmit it.

Mr. *Hunter*¹ and myself, were admitted into the junior-Class on the twenty second day of November, after a previous Examination by the president, Tutors, & some residing Graduates; Which was about three Weeks after the College-Orders began.

The Rules by which the Sholars & Students are directed, are, in my Opinion, exceedingly well formed to check & restrain the vicious, & to assist the studious, & to countenance & incourage the virtuous.

Every Student must rise in the Morning, at farthest by half an hour after five; the grammar Schollars being most of them small, & lodging also in Town at some Distance from the College, are, in Winter, excused from attending morning Prayrs.

The Bell rings at five, after which there is an Intermission of half and hour, that everyone may have time to dress, at the end of which it rings again, & Prayrs begin; And lest any should plead that he did not hear the Bell, the Servant who rings, goes to every Door & beats till he wakens the Boys, which leaves them without Excuse.

¹ Andrew Hunter, Jr. was graduated at Princeton College in 1772. He was shortly after licensed, and served as chaplain in Gen. Heard's brigade of Jersey Militia during the Revolution. This was the same brigade to which Fithian was attached. He was a Trustee of the College, from 1788 until 1804, when he resigned from the Board to accept the newly instituted chair of Mathematics and Astronomy, which position he held until his removal to Bordentown in 1808, when he was again elected Trustee, serving until 1811. In this year he was appointed chaplain at the navy-yard at Washington, D. C., where he removed with his family. Andrew Hunter was a son of David Hunter, and a nephew of Rev. Andrew Hunter of Greenwich, N. J.; he married first, Miss Ann Riddell; second, Mary, daughter of Richard Stockton the Signer, and died at Washington at an advanced age, February 24th, 1823.

There are Bill-keepers in each Class, appointed generally by the President, or in his absence by one of the Tutors, who take Notice, & set down those who are absent from Morning or evening Prayers, & once every week present their Bill to the *Doctor*, or one of the Tutors, who call each delinquent, & demand their Excuse, which if it is thought sufficeant is accepted, if not they are fined, or privately admonished, & if the same person is found frequently guilty, without good reason, he receives public Admonition in the Hall for Contempt of Authority.

After morning Prayers, we can, now in the Winter, study an hour by candle Light every Morning.

We breakfast at eight; from Eight to nine, is time of our own, to play, or exercise.

At nine the Bell rings for Recitation, after which we study till one, when the Bell rings for Dinner—We dine all in the same Room, at three Tables, & so we breakfast and sup:

After dinner till three we have Liberty to go out at Pleasure.

From three til' five we study, when the Bell rings for evening Prayers.

We sup at seven; At nine the Bell rings for Study; And a Tutor goes through College, to see that every Student is in his own Room; if he finds that any are absent, or more in any Room than belongs there, he notes them down, & the day following calls them to an Account.

After nine any may go to bed, but to go before is reproachful.

No Student is allowed, on any pretence, Sickness only excepted, to be absent on Sunday, from public Worship: We have two Sermons every Sabbath: One

at eleven in the morning, in the Church; & the other at three in the Afternoon, in the College Hall. I am indeed much pleased with Dr. *Witherspoon* & think his Sermons almost inimitable.

We rise on Sabbath mornings & have Prayers as usual,

There is a Society that meets every Sabbath Evening at six o Clock, for religious Worship; this is a voluntary Society made up of any who belong to the College, & choose to attend.

The Exercises in this Society go in the alphabetical Order of those who are willing to perform: They sing a Psalm & pray, after which a Tutor reads a Sermon & dismisses them.

About seven the supper Bell rings, immediately after which, each Class meets separately in Rooms belonging to one of themselves; The Seniors alone meet in a Room belonging to one of the Seniors; & the Juniors by themselves meet in a Room belonging to one of themselves; & in like manner do the inferior Classes. And one in each Class, as his Name comes in alphabetical Order, gives out a Psalm to be sung, & prays; after which they disperse, and retire to their respective Rooms.

I make use of the word "their" not because I do not join with my fellow-Students in these Acts of Worship, but because I seem only yet to be an Observer of their Manners.

There are upwards of an hundred now in the College¹ including the grammar Scholars: The present

¹ Among the men then at Princeton College, who became famous in after life, were James Madison, Class of 1771; Aaron Burr, 1772; Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry"), 1773; Gunning Bedford, Hugh H. Brackenridge, Philip Freneau, Aaron Ogden, and Henry Brockholst Livingston.

Senior Class consists of ten: The *Junior* of twenty-eight: The *Sophomore* of twenty five: And the *Freshman* of eighteen: In the School there are about twenty-five.

I am, through divine goodness, very well, & more reconciled to rising in the Morning so early than at first.

*Andrew*¹ is not yet come, I fear he has concluded to stay at home.

Please to accept my humble, & sincere Regard; & give my kindest Love to my ever-dear *Mamma*.

From, Sir, your dutiful Son

P. FITHIAN.

A Letter² written by my ever-dear *Mama*; at GREENWICH, Jan 10: Anno: 1771.

MY DEAR SON,

I hope you are well; we are all well at present, for which I desire to acknowledge the divine Goodness:

I suppose you are uneasy about your Gown; Andrew's not coming is one Reason; Mr. *Hunter* wrote for Cloth last week, but it has not yet come.

This is perhaps a small Cross, & you must, my dear Son, take your Cross Daily, & follow Christ, if you will be his Disciple:

I beseech you make Religion your Business; O my Son, mind the one thing needful; beg of *God* for his Grace, to Withstand Temptations; You have, I trust,

¹ Andrew Hunter.

² This letter and the one following from Fithian's mother, received shortly after his entry at College, give a view of the home and influence which shaped his after life, and which led him as a missionary to devote two years to work among the Indians and early settlers of the great western wilderness, and when the crisis came, to lay down his life in the service of his country.

inlisted yourself into the Service of Christ, turn not back; it is easy to profess Religion, but it is hard to be a Christian: Without Holiness no Man shall see the Lord; Try to deport yourself as becometh the Gospel of Christ; Remember what the Lord hath done for you, & let it humble you.

I hope the Lord hath Work for you to do in the World; O that he would furnish you with every necessary *Grace*, & *Qualification* for his Service.

That you may grow in Grace, & in the Knowledge of our Lord, & Saviour Jesus Christ is the Prayr of

Your

affectionate Mother

HANNAH FITHIAN.

P. S.

I beg you would write some serious Letters to your *Brothers* & Sister. Your Daddy has his Compliments to you; remember my Love to Andrew.

Peace be with you

H. F.

Another Letter from my dear, affectionate, fond Mother, written at GREENWICH, March 4: Anno 1771.

MY DEAR SON,

My Love remembered;

I long for your Souls welfare above any other thing; My dear Child, remember that a precious Treasure & Prize depend upon the short time you are now upon; even the *Eternity* of Well, or Woe to your Soul, standeth upon your short, swift posting Life.

Your Soul is no little Value, it is of more Value than the whole World; to live as others do, & to be free & void of open sins will not do; Youth is a very dangerous Time, it is not possible for you to know it until experience teaches you; You remember the Apostles Charge to holy Timothy, flee youthful *Lusts*: If he needed an Admonition then in the pure Age of the Gospel, how much more now, when Religion for the most part is but a Name?

But I beseech you, my dear Child, never rest until you are assured of your Interest in Christ; never expect Ease, & Pleasure from the Enjoyments of this World; he never himself took any, nor ever promised us any but in himself; O may the God of all Grace perfect a work of Grace in your Soul; that he may present you faultless in the Day of the Lord Jesus Christ is the Prayr of your affectionate Mama!

My dear Child, pray for me, I am afraid you cannot read my Writing, but if you can, tho' it is wrote in much Weakness it is to my Child, & I charge you not to neglect it!

We are all about as well as we used to be, your *Daddy* hath his *Complaints*, & I have *mine*; but through divine Goodness I am much better than I was last Winter.

Enoch remains weak yet. Tommy has been very sick, but the Lord hath restored him again; Your *Sister & Brothers* send Love to you:

I am almost angry that you have so long neglected Writing, but I hope through the Goodness of God to see you shortly.

from your

fond Mama

Peace be with you.

H. FITHIAN.

The Cliosophian Club¹ in Distress.

A Piece written at the Time of a paper-Contention,
between the Whigg, & Tory Societies, at NASSAU-HALL.
Read June 22. Anno 1771.

Inasmuch as our Case truly merits the Pity of All, we hope after the Publication of this to receive not only the Sympathy & Assistance of our Friends, but Mercy also, & relief from our Enemies. About the Beginning of this Month we finding our Body to be considerably indisposed, & after having consulted together, we concluded that it was highly necessary we should apply for Help: Accordingly, by the Advice and Prescription of Mr. Hasard, (In whose name a Dialogue was written some days before, between himself and the Devil, favoring the Cliosophians) we took this Morning, for our Relief, a well-prepared Cathartic. But either through the Deceit of the Apothecary, or by Reason of the Malignity of our Distemper, or both of them united, for our Disease seems to be the Effect of their united Energy, we now almost despair of Life!

¹ The Cliosophic and American Whig Societies were then, as they are now, the two great rival organizations of Princeton College. In the year 1765, or shortly before, two literary societies were organized at Nassau Hall under the names, the Well Meaning and Plain Dealing Clubs, these however were suppressed by the College authorities, owing to some riotous proceedings, in 1768. In 1769, with the sanction of the Faculty, the Plain Dealers reorganized under the name of the American Whig Society, and shortly after, in 1770, the Well Meaning Club was succeeded by the Cliosophic Society. Prominent among the Whig founders are the names of James Madison and Gen. John Beatty, a brother-in-law of Fithian's; while Henry Lee and Aaron Burr are noted among the first Cliosophian members. Philip Fithian himself was a Whig. This piece, from the pen of a Whig, is a sarcasm intended to show the sorrowful state of the Clio's, as compared with their own flourishing condition. See Cameron's *Hist. of the Am. Whig Society*, and Giger's *Hist. of the Cliosophic Society*.

For, altho by the Operation of the Medicine, we are rid of great Numbers of inherent sickly Humours, yet our whole Frame seems shaken, & about to fall. How alarming is the Approach of Dissolution to ourselves in particular, & how doleful will the Catastrophy appear to the World in general; when the distinguished Tories; the potent, the august, the splendid, royal *Sons of the Morning* fall!

Considering therefore our low Condition, & the Improbability of a Recovery: & finding that we are found, as usual, in our Intellects, Thanks be to Mr. Hasard, altho' exercised with unspeakable Pain, we think proper, in form following, to make our last *Will*, & regularly dispose of all, & every of our worldly Estate.

IMPRIMIS.

We give, & devise all our Orations, Declamations, Disputes, Pastorals, Acrosticks, & loose, miscellany Writings, wherever the same may be, to the Person who shall in Opposition to these royal Whiggs, resolutely defend & renew our dying Cause.

ITEM. Secondly. We give to the impotent, & needy that they may bear us long in Mind, all our Instruments & Tools whatsoever; consisting of *Flutes, Fifes, Drums, Colours, Bodkins, Shears, Sleeve-Boards, &c &c.*

But it is our Will these should be sold at public Vendue, or otherwise, & their Value given as before mentioned, but *all the Fools*, kept for the Use of a succeeding Club.

ITEM. Thirdly. We give our huge looking-Glass to that spirited & bravé Fellow who shall in any succeeding Age, either by his Skill in Writing, Declaiming, or Burlesquing, humble in any Degree, the Pride & the Glory of the victorious and flourishing Whiggs.

Lastly. The Remainder of our Goods, Debts, Chattels, &c. we give to Mr. Hasard, for the vigorous Performance of his friendly Designs, altho they are likely to be to us of fatal Consequence, oh!

AND we do hereby appoint *John Richards, Simon Snodgrass, & Patrick Kepple* to be joint Executors to this our Will, relying on their Fidelity religiously to fulfil, in every particular, our last Request concerning genuine Property.

Testes.

TORY CLUB.

RICH^d ARCHIBALD.

SAM^l BROWN.

HARRY TEMPLETON.

[JOHN MCCALLA TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

PHILADEL: Jan^y 6.th 1772.

DEAR PHILIP.

If I were to write to you as often as I think of you my letters would be as bad as a rent charge, I had a letter wrote by the last stage but the boy neglected to carry it 'till it was too late, I have tried several places to get you the song you wrote to me for but could not. J . . . Y . . . is out of town and has been this month, and I cannot get it for you now, but as soon as ever she comes to Phila:^a I will send it to you I knew it all when you were here but has quite forgot it; I hope you will pardon my not writing oftener, but believe me Philip it is not for want of regard for I have the sincerest friendship for you.

I wish you could come up next Stage, for I long to ramble once more with you as perhaps I shall not have

such another opportunity this seven years should we live so long, and the weather so very pleasant but I must conclude with wishing you all the pleasures the season can afford, the best company; the best Coffee, and the best news you can desire, and what more to wish you I do not know unless it be a great deal of patience to read this letter.

I am Dear Philip Yours

JOHN MC.CALLA.

A Letter to my much loved Mama.

Written at NASSAU-HALL, Jan: 12th Anno 1772.

DEAR MAMA.

I have nothing to offer as a Reason why I did not write sooner, for I want neither Time, nor Oppertunity.

I do not remember ever to have spent a Winter with so great Satisfaction as I have this, as yet; Our Studies are easy, & they are very pleasant; our public Exhibitions are few, & they are also easy.

I have an Oppertunity in some small Degree of acquainting myself with Mankind, by observing the Conduct & Temper of the Students in this Seminary: Which is filled with Young-Men not only from almost every Province, in this Continent; But we have also many from the *West Indies*, & some few from *Europe*. So that from the Difference in their early Education, their Manner is extremely different, which makes our Observations on them, both agreeable, & profitable.

I have here, besides, an Opertunity of acquainting myself with the Writings of great, & famous Men, & to improve by their Instruction; And all these Advan-

tages, dear Mama, that I have now been mentioning to advance ourselves in Science, are exceedingly helpful in acquiring one other most important Branch of Science, I mean an Acquaintance with Myself: There are many Ways, which are seldom neglected, of reproaching & putting to Shame those who are proud, & self-confident!

It is now almost three Months before I expect to see Home; if I am so long continued in Life, & shall be once more favoured to see my near Connections, for oh! it is wholly uncertain!

The Time appears long: But I am not in any Degree impatient; for I am convinced that it is not the Place, nor Condition; neither is it the Presence, nor Absence of Relations, & Friends, tho' most near, & tender to us, that can give us, for any length of Time, either substantial Joy, or Grief; none of these can avail, without the favoring Presence of our common Father, who is the Almighty God. To him, Madam, to his Grace I resign myself; of him I ask Direction, in my Course; & in the Enjoyment of him I look for Happiness.

I have been long since convinced, of your strong, & unfeigned, yet undeserved Fondness of me; the Tokens of it have been frequently so plain, that they have left me astonished, & in Tears, for being so monstrously ungrateful, as not to render in Turn, at least, my kindest Affections. I feel now, stronger than ever, my Obligations to the most extensive Kindness; But now I am divided dear Mama, from your Society, & thereby denied the Liberty of acting what my Heart suggests. Yet there remains one Resource, which is the best of All; I will betake myself to the Throne of Grace, for that is free to all Mankind; & the God who sitteth upon it is omnipresent; he as fully knows, & will as readily answer what I ask of him here, as tho' I was in my

If a Person were to judge of the generality of Students, by the Conduct of such earth-born, insatiate Helluo's; or by the detested Character of wicked Individuals, (which is generally soonest & most extensively propagated, & known abroad,) how terrible an Idea must he have!

Please to remember my kind Regards to my Brothers; Sister *Becka*, & the whole Family. I feel my Heart warm with Esteem for them! but can only further, at present, write myself, dear Father, Yours,

P. FITHIAN.

[Extract from an oration pronounced in public, January 15th, 1772, on "Fashions".]

... I have not time to draw a paralell as I proposed between admirals & generals of ancient & modern times. I shall bring only one instance of the calmness, & simplicity of the former & compare it with what, in the same circumstances would be the language of our sea commanders; It is where Aneas & his crew in their passage from Troy, to Italy, were near falling on that most dangerous, & almost unavoidable Whirl-pool Charibdis; In this critical moment Anchises their venerable old Admiral thus addrest the seamen.

Hos Helenus scopulos, haec faxa horrendu

Eripite, o socii, pariterque insurgite remis.¹

He said, rise my friends on your Oars, & pull with ardor.

Instead of this the language of a modern boatswain would be — Damn your eyes, stand by brave fellows,

¹ From the third book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

each guard his own station, or, I swear we shall soon be to the Devil!

Perhaps some are concluding that I intend to pass the Ladies by in silence, & therefore make myself a Lyar, because I promised to introduce something concerning them in this place; it would be the part of a stupid fellow indeed to say nothing at all, of what can best illustrate & prove his subject.

But I beg the liberty of pleading absolute unwillingness to say a word concerning changing fashions, or changeable inclinations, because these bear so exact a resemblance to my own temper that it would be altogether impossible for me to say any thing concerning them, but only to support & defend them.

So zealous am I in the Cause of the Ladies, & so much their friend, that I am well enough assured, there is not any single one present, who, if she knew only a little of my heart, would doubt of my sincerity a moment, when I say that I believe, & should be proud any time at half an hours warning to be basted soundly for my opinion, that there has not been a fashion these fifteen years past, I mean among the Ladies, which has not been more useful, & more necessary, than showy & ornamental. . .

[ANDREW HUNTER, SR., TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

COHANSIE Feb^y 10th 1772.

SIR.

I am very sorry that I have the melancholy occasion to inform you of something that will try all the religion and fortitude you have, to bear up under it. I need

not keep you in longer suspence, your Parents are both dead; your mother¹ the 2^d and your Father the 8th of this instant. We can find no will, and therefore you are the only person that hath a right to administer, you must come as soon as possible for all must lie as it is till you come. I have inclosed thirty shillings to pay your expence by Stage, I hope you will be down next week, my love to Andrew.

Yours, &c.

ANDREW HUNTER.

[ANDREW HUNTER, JR., TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU HALL March 18th 1772.

SIR.

I am glad to understand by your letter that you expect to settle the affairs of your family so soon.

I received your keys and have wrote to you since, but perhaps the letter is miscarried, you need not be at all uneasy about your things that are here, for I will take as much care of them, as if they were my own, in every respect: and will bring down such of them as you have wrote for, except your tutor for the flute, which I cannot get, as Mr. Cook went to Philadelphia the week after you went from here, on account of the sudden death of his mother, and will not return till after

¹ Philip Fithian's mother was Hannah Vickers; she married Joseph Fithian in 1746 (see introduction). The cause of their deaths is not known. Andrew Hunter, the writer of this note, was an uncle of Andrew Hunter, who graduated with Fithian in 1772. He received from Princeton College, in 1760, the honorary degree of A. M.

vacancy. We have had a considerable stir of religion¹ in college since you went away, Lewis Willson² is thought to have got religion; and the formerly abandoned Glover is seeking the way to heaven. Our orations are put off lest they should do some harm to some under concern. Little King³ lives with me till vacancy. I don't know whether we shall go on the stage this season or not. Give my compliments to your family and any else you please.

I am yours, &c.

AND^w HUNTER JUN^r

Septem^r 10th 1772. NASSAU HALL.

An Exercise at the public Commencement.

It is altogether needless, to detain this respectable assembly only for two or three minutes, with any intro-

¹ Dr. Maclean in his *History of the College of New Jersey* (Vol. I. 389-390), says of the religious revivals of 1770 and 1772:

"The fruits of these religious awakenings were most happy, as they gave to the Church not a few of her ablest ministers and elders, and to the State some of her best and most influential citizens. As usual in such times, some were very earnest friends to these religious revivals, and others were zealous opponents, deeming them evidence of fanaticism of those who favored them . . . Hence it should occasion no surprise that the more ardent of the youth, on whichever side arrayed, should regard the cautions given them by their wise and faithful President (Witherspoon) as evidence that he was not fully in sympathy with those who viewed these religious excitements as the work of the Holy Spirit, and as evidence that God had heard their prayers and had crowned with success their efforts for the conversion of not a few of their fellow-students."

² In the case of Lewis Fuielleateau Wilson (class of 1773) conversion appears to have been permanent, as he was afterward ordained a minister of the Gospel. He was tutor at the college from 1774-75, but having received the degree of M.D., he resigned at the outbreak of the Revolution, and entered the army as surgeon. The "abandoned Glover" appears to have mistaken a path to some neighboring hen-roost, for the way to Heaven, as he was expelled from the college the following winter [1773] for stealing turkeys.

³ Probably Andrew King, class of 1773.

duction to the following Subject, further than by just telling them it is my design to prove that “*political jealousy* is a laudable passion.”

Jealousy is a strange temper in the human mind, & like several other of our passions, it has various effects when its subjects are different; it is also of many kinds, as political, domestic, & ecclesiastic Jealousies, Jealousy in Friendship, and between the Sexes; each of which has a different effect on the mind from all the others, & several of them, if carried to any considerable length, are generally attended with dangerous consequences: especially the two kinds last mentioned, Jealousy in Friendship, & between the Sexes; for in friendship when two persons of agreeable tempers, have by long acquaintance proved each others fidelity, so as to communicate all their secret intentions to each other, & have contracted a particular esteem between themselves, if by any means, whether false or true, the one becomes suspicious that the regard, or the faithfulness of the other is diminished, he is then watchful of every action, & misapplies every unmeaning expression, which at once destroys their quiet, & is seldom removed, but most usually terminates in open hatred. But it is said by some that a small degree of Jealousy between those of different Sexes improves, & increases mutual Esteem, because esteem is said to be the foundation of Jealousy; but when it arrives at a certain pitch, it then turns the other way, & rages with ungovernable violence; like attraction in small bodies, which ceases to act at a certain distance, & then repulsion separates them with a double force; I am, however, quite unable to comprehend what can be a cause for this mysterious limitation, & as no valid reasons have been brought to support it, but innumerable Examples which operate against it, we

conclude that wherever Jealousy between the sexes takes place, it destroys the comfort & happiness of the parties, in proportion to its Strength, & Duration. It is therefore mischievous in its nature in both these kinds, & neither desirable, nor laudable; perhaps the same things or worse might be said of domestic & ecclesiastic Jealousies, but I pass them by, & proceed to observe that *political Jealousy* differs from them all in these respects; it is rational, & uniform, & necessary.

Any person who considers the importance of a free State, of how great value the lives the liberties, & the property of a nation are, & considers that the surrounding nations are envious of their neighbours happiness, & therefore always desirous of reducing them to subjection, will see at once & readily confess, that it is most just, that those who have the ruling power, should keep a watchful eye upon the whole conduct of those in whose power it is to disturb & injure them; & this observation is Jealousy of their designs, which is the first & surest step to self-preservation, because it is the simplest, & most safe method that can be taken to preserve the state, as it does not suffer mischief to take place & the safety of every individual in a state depends entirely upon the Security of the whole, consequently this kind of Jealousy is a first principle of Nature, which never goes contrary to reason; & which always directs to something needful & for our good, political Jealousy is therefore rational & founded in unerring nature.

It is like wise uniform, for it only excites politicians to a constant attention to those things which are likely to keep the state in safety, but when public hostilities are committed against the state there is nothing then that can be called Jealousy for the resentment is open and common: Political Jealousy, then in this view, is

of great importance in two respects, it is first the most easy and effectual way to keep a nation in peace, or make them successful in war, as it urges to constant readiness for the greatest danger; & likewise its natural tendency is to unite the people; for when they see the Rulers of the nation inattentive to the national welfare, they immediately become dissatisfied, because their own lives and property are in danger, & often in this case they rebel against the government, & unite among themselves to defend their own lives & secure their property; but when a people see their Rulers watchful over the state, & always forward to detect & chastise intruders, if the nation is in peace they are quiet & at ease, and when war commences they cheerfully, & courageously join with their rulers, to scourge, & subdue the common enemy; now seeing Jealousy of this kind never grows to be a tumultuous, & dangerous passion, it certainly cannot be deny'd but that it is useful; & it is besides a necessary passion, for it is the spring that gives life and motion to government, & its force is so powerful that its influence extends throughout the largest State, & so mild that it never injures the weakest subject.

It seems, finally to have been a particular passion, implanted by the supreme God in certain Men, which assists them to rule a state in equity, & to make use of all necessary, & possible means to preserve it in safety; & when those who are destitute of it are set over a nation they seem placed there by providence to chastise the people, & for their own destruction; when private interest is preferred by Politicians to the National welfare, or when *discord* & mischeivous factions enter among them, these show at once that instead of being directed by the genuine gentle temper above described they are *possessed* with a spurious, selfish, helborn passion.

Now seeing it has been made appear that this kind of Jealousy tends in general to the good of a Nation; seeing it never promotes feuds, & factions, nor ever grows to be turbulent & excessive; seeing its tendency is to unite a people in friendship among themselves, and make them powerful against their enemies; & seeing its influence is as extensive as the most populous state, & at the same time mild & gentle, who can deny; I ask, who can deny but that it is laudable, lovely, desirable, & most excellent? did I ask who can deny? It is a confessed truth, & admitted by all;———— It therefore only remains that I implore the great *Genius* which presides over our nation, to inspire our *king* & his *council*, & all our *Rulers* with this noble spirit. Oh! inspire them mighty Goddess, with a temper like to thine; suffer them not we first intreat thee to be swayed from their duty by sordid interest; make them always consider that upon their consultations depends the safety of a vast empire! let them therefore be all men of integrity, & unquestionable sincerity; take from them all malice, & revengeful inclinations, & fill them with love & harmony among one another, so that our happy government may be established & flourish, so long as the Sun & Moon endure—— But, if it is written in the books of *Fate* that a change in the Government must take place; Oh! transfer it to this *western World*, set up *here* thy royal standard, where ignorance & barbarity lately reigned; may virtue & learning, & Arts be always the subjects of thy particular attention; establish a Government, & set over it such men as shall be ever watchful for the common good, that they may forever rule a brave, a free, & a happy People.

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

[DR. JOHN BEATTY TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

PHILAD^A Decem^r 18th 1772.

D^r SIR:

I rode that evening you left me as far as Cormans; being very *Solemncholly* and somewhat tired, I concluded to stay there all night; and very early next morning breakfasted at Gloucester and got into Philadelphia before Eleven of the clock; design'd to have reach'd home that evening, but it proving rainy I was obliged to stay till to day.

I procured the tragedy you desired and left it with M^r John M^cCalla. also the notes of the variations of lovely nancy which I transmit you; altho they are very imperfectly done thro' great hurry, yet I believe they are accurate.

I hear of nothing extraordinary in this place; the *Fate* of these poor unhappy young fellows, seem the chief topic of conversation what it may is as yet very doubtful; it is more than probable they will be condemned, tho most people Imagine they will be reprieved by the Governor; this however is a broken staff to depend on.

I expect to hear from you by the first oppertunity. I am with my compliments to M^{rs} Peck and family D^r Sir your very affectionate

Friend, &c.

JOHN BEATY.

[OLIVER REESE TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

ROCKY-HILL Dec^r 26th 1772.

MY DEAR PHILIP.

It gave me a very peculiar satisfaction to receive a letter from, I had almost concluded that a frequent

intercourse with your charming *Laura* (who I understood had removed to our parts) had made you forget your friends at prince-ton but your friendly letter has removed my suspicions, I feel my heart warm towards you, and my desires enkindled to spend one more evening in your company; methinks I could now give you a lecture that would raise your drooping spirits and make you think your *Laura* was your own.

Oh! if I could but see you I could tell you many pretty things to tell her, that I am shure if she was not actually married to another would gain her to your interest.

Tho' I daily enjoy the company of a very handsome and most agreeable young Lady from Long-Island who is to live with us till spring, yet it is no temptation to me to forsake *Amanda*, She has my heart, I prefer her to any I have ever been acquainted with, and I will venture to tell you I am far from despairing of future success, It will rejoice me to hear from you often, and rest assured I shall write as frequent as time, and opportunity will admit, I am just going to bed.

from your humble Serv^t

OLIVER REESE.¹

[ANDREW HUNTER, JR., TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU-HALL. Dec^r 28th 1772.

D^r. SIR.

I am, by your omitting writing to me, constrained to think that you Study very hard this winter, or spend your time in something else of equal importance. I expected to have received frequent letters from you

¹ Oliver Reese graduated at Nassau Hall with Fithian, in 1772. He appears at this time to have been studying Theology, in company with some others of his class, under the guidance of Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton.

whereas I have only received two, the last of which was dated the 5th of this month. The requests of your first I complied with soon after it came to hand. Those of the second I have not had it in my power to comply with before now, having so much business that I scarcely know what most demands dispatch.

The Doctor in his lectures¹ does not go on in the order that System writers generally do, but chooses out the most important subjects in divinity such as the proofs of natural and revealed religion, Faith, Repentance, the Deistical controversies, Original Sin, &c.

And treats them in as concise a manner as possible, to give us a clear notion of them, and gives us the several opinions of the ablest writers.

I would be glad you would write oftener and give me all the news you can. Please to make my best compliments to M^r & M^{rs} Green and any body else you please.

Your friends here are all well.

I am D^r Philip,

Your friend

ANDREW HUNTER.

¹ It is said by President Ashbel Green, that "the method of instruction by lectures had never been practised in this institution till it was introduced by Dr. Witherspoon", and that "he delivered lectures on four different subjects, namely, on Composition, Taste, and Criticism, on Moral Philosophy, on Chronology and History, and on Divinity." Of this Maclean says, in his *History of the College of New Jersey*, "We are inclined to doubt the accuracy of the statement that Dr. Witherspoon was the first at this College to use the method of teaching by lecture, as something very like it must have been employed by President Edwards on the few occasions on which he met the students. And in his letter of October 19, 1757, to the Trustees, he expresses his willingness in case he should accept their offer, 'to do the whole work of a Professor of Divinity in public and private lectures'." (Maclean, *Hist. College of New Jersey*, V. I. 388.)

[ISRAEL EVANS TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU HALL Jan^y 25th 1773.

MY D^R PHILIP.

I thank you for taking notice of me, but am afraid you will have too much reason to account me ungrateful before you receive this letter.

Believe me I wish you well, I hope you enjoy the comfortable presence of God which alone can make us chearful while we pass thro' this waste howling wilderness, you know my friend it is an easy thing to make a profession of Religion, but the great difficulty is to imbibe the spirit of christianity, to maintain a secret walk with God and be holy as he is holy.

I have some things to tell you which will not give you any pleasure, stealing of Turkies has been too much practiced this winter, Glover has been expelled, and Jones, with King, Livingston,¹ and some others have been fined by the civil magistrate; some of the persons mentioned you know were hopelessly converted but there is no knowing who is converted only by their after conduct in life, such things however open the mouths of the enemies of religion. It is a great work to change the carnal heart and if so many bid fair for the kingdom of heaven and yet come short, what reason for strict and frequent examination in order to know whether we be in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Last week Hire's house² was burnt down. It took

¹ No doubt Henry Brockholst Livingston, class of 1774, who afterward became a Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court.

² This was the famous "Hudibras" tavern, where President Adams stopped on his visit to Princeton, August 27, 1774. It was kept by Col. Jacob Hyer, (sometimes spelled Hire), a prominent patriot of the Revolution. For an account of this visit see the diary of Mr. Adams in *Life and Works of John Adams*, V. 2, 355-356; also Hageman's *Princeton and its Institutions*, V. 2, 39.

fire by some accident about four in the morning. All that Students and people could do could not prevent it from being consumed. Hire sustained considerable loss in goods and provision, but the house you know was not his. I am, dear Sir, Yours, &c.

ISRAEL EVANS.¹

[OLIVER REESE TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

ROCKY-HILL Feb^y 5th 1773.

DEAR LITTLE PHILIP.

I received your last letter just as I was going to set out to conduct the lovely *A. M. A. N. D. A.* from Prince-*ton* to Trenton you will readily conclude that I was in a most agreeable mode, and therefore I read your letter with more than ordinary satisfaction.

I have spent a very agreeable winter so far, I have went to princeton three times every week when the weather would permit, I have been at Trenton eight times I think since I saw you, I mean I have been personally there eight times, but to tell you how often my heart has been there, it would take two large volumes

¹ Israel Evans was graduated at Princeton College with Fithian in 1772. At the time of this letter he was studying Theology under Dr. Witherspoon, in Princeton. During the Revolution he served as chaplain in the New Hampshire brigade, at first under the command of Gen. Enoch Poor. From the State Papers we copy the following notice (*N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, V. X, 38, note 1.):

"The Rev. Israel Evans was at this time (Sept. 7, 1791) minister of Concord, and pastor of the Congregational church. . . . He was a great admirer and friend of Gen. Washington. It is related that in his last sickness, being visited by Rev. Dr. McFarland, the latter prayed for him, 'That at life's close he might sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God.' To which Mr. Evans audibly added, '*and with Gen. Washington, too.*' He died in Concord, March 9th, 1807, in the 60th year of his age."

in folio as big as Coethegon's universal history of arts and sciences ; to contain the numbers, I suppose now you will begin to conclude that I am making but poor proficiency in my studies, but do not mistake yourself I read much, I study divinity one hour and think of the ladies the next, so that in a short time I expect to be a most eminent Divine, I have preached one sermon before the Doct:^s and graduates, but I much question if they get me to preach another.

Next summer I purpose to live in Trenton and then I shall become quite good. If it is possible for me to come and see you in the spring I will.

As I have entrusted you with more than any other person so if I could now see you I would tell what I will tell no other person. Oh! Philip, Philip, I wish you may be able to give me as good an account of your suits with your charming Laura - - - - - guess the rest ——— ———

Write often, and expect the same from your loving
Friend,

OLIVER REESE.

[WILLIAM SMITH TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU HALL Feb^y 28th 1773.

SIR.

There came to hand the 23^d of Feb^y a letter directed to me, which, before I unseal'd, afforded me the pleasure (if I may call it so) of some conjectures concerning the person that might have wrote it, but not being able to keep my mind long in suspence, I opened the letter and was very agreeably surprised to see Philip Fithian subscribed ; tho I must needs say I felt

a little vexed at the same time that I had not long ago put myself into such a situation by writing to you as that I might reasonably have expected much sooner the satisfaction I enjoyed in reading your letter; but I have indeed been so busy since vacancy, that I have not hardly had time to think of my favorites; I had not wrote a line home since I left it last 'till a very few days ago, and in a short time I shall return again.

Your conjecture respecting my appearance upon the stage was very true, I have shown my shapes there twice already, and once no later than yesterday evening, and I flatter myself it would afford you a very particular pleasure to hear that we make out well, which I believe I may venture to say is the case, if our best judges speak the sentiments of their minds: our class is divided into two parts, and I heard it said yesterday evening after we had done speaking (it was by a gentleman of your class) that our part had far exceeded anything he ever heard in the Hall; and the time we spoke before, it was generally reported by those who heard us that it was not possible to do better than we did, but perhaps it will hardly be thought proper to mention even what other people say of us, only that I know you would be glad to know how well we do, therefore I mention it to you.

Mr Baldwin¹ does not give us the very best But-

¹ This was Jonathan Baldwin, the College steward. He was a resident of Princeton, and graduated at Nassau Hall, in the class of 1755. Jonathan Baldwin was a prominent patriot, a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775, and in 1778 was entrusted by Gov. Livingston with the distribution of balls and cartridges for the use of the army. While steward of the College, or a merchant of the town, he became involved in the violation of the act of 1777, passed by the Legislature at Princeton, limiting the price of certain articles. He was summoned before the Council of Safety, at Princeton, for selling sugar at a higher rate than the law allowed, and was fined by the Council. (Hageman's *Princeton and its Institutions*. V. I. 74-75.)

ter now more than he formerly did, and some of the students to be up with him made his image of Butter and hung it up by the neck in the dining room, William was kind enough to carry it over to him and let him see it, which I believe does not sit very easy upon his stomach.

M^r: Houston¹ is trying to instill philosophy into our heads, and I assure you I dont think it by any means a disagreeable study.

M^r: Hyer's house was burnt down about a week or two ago, and M^r: Patersons saved with much difficulty.

There are none of the ladies here married yet, at least to my knowledge, tho' it is reported there are two couple married in a private manner; and which would you think if one of your class mates is one of them.

This is all the news I can tell you at present.

From sir, your very
affectionate friend
and humble Serv^t

WILL^m. SMITH.²

P. S. I hope you will
pardon the incorrectness
of this hasty letter.

¹William Churchill Houston, class of 1768, was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy from 1771 until he resigned in 1783 to take up the practice of law, removing to Trenton. In 1776 upon the dispersion of the students, when the British invaded the town, Houston took command of a scouting party, and rendered valuable service in the counties of Hunterdon and Somerset. He was a member of the Council of Safety in Princeton, in 1778, and was sent to Congress as a delegate from the County of Middlesex, 1779-81, and in 1784. He died at Frankfort, Pa., in 1788. (Hageman's *Princeton and its Institutions*, V. I. 93.)

²William R. Smith, a member of the class of 1773, was afterward an ordained minister.

[ANDREW HUNTER, JR., TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU-HALL June 26th 1773.

Sir.

I¹ expected notwithstanding your small offence you would have let me know before this time whether you had made any determination different from what you designed when I left you. If you design teaching before you get into business, there are now several considerable offers made to young men who are willing to go to Virginia by some of the first gentlemen in the colony; one particularly who will give as good as 60 £ the best accommodations, a room to study in and the advantage of a library, a horse kept and a servant to wait upon you.

Dr. Witherspoon is very fond of getting a person to send him. I make no kind of doubt but if you were to write to the doctor that he would engage it to you, the terms are exactly as I write you as I have informed myself that I might let you know.

There are a number of our friends and class-mates getting into business as fast as possible, whether they are called or not I cannot pretend to judge, this much I would say that I think it is not any ones duty to run too fast. No less than four Debow, Reese, McCorkle, Allen, under trials by a presbetry, and Bryan² trying to get license to plead law in some of the best courts on

¹ This letter is from Andrew Hunter Jr. to Philip Fithian, informing him of the opportunity of going into Virginia as a private tutor. The gentleman particularly referred to is Robert Carter of Westmoreland County, Virginia, whose offer Fithian afterward accepted, through the influence of Dr. Witherspoon.

² Debow, Reese, McCorkle, Allen, and Bryan were all graduated at Nassau Hall in 1772, and were afterward ordained except Andrew Bryan.

the continent, if infamy were law or lies were Gospel he might get license either to plead or preach.

We 'have had the pleasure of Laura's¹ company here for some weeks past, I hope you will not envy us considering that continual pleasure is too much for such mortals as we to bear.

I beg that you may no longer refrain from writing, as I should be very glad to hear many things from you and other of my friends in Cohansie which you can relate with little trouble. If you have been trying with me who could keep from writing longest, I own fairly beat. The number of our students are considerably increased, and our school consists of thirty-nine——— I have heard there are some disagreeable stories going through our country I wish you would let me know something about them. Doct^r Ward spent part of yesterday with me in his return.

My love to M^r. and M^{rs} Green.

I am, sir,

Your very friend,

AND^w HUNTER.

[PHILIP FITHIAN TO ANDREW HUNTER, JR.]

DEERFIELD, July 3, 1773.

SIR.

I am sorry you impute neglect of writing in me to so wrong a cause, as an old trivial offence, I confess that I am to blame, and am willing to stand reproved by you,

¹ This was Elizabeth Beatty, who is often referred to under this name. She frequently visited her brother, Dr. John Beatty, who resided at Princeton. It was at his home that she was married to Philip Fithian, October 25th, 1775, the service being performed by Dr. Witherspoon. The evidence is that at this date (October 25th, 1775) Dr. Beatty was living with his wife at her fathers (Richard Longstreet's) home, near Princeton. This old house is still standing, and is now the property of Boyd van Doren.

OLD LONGSTREET HOUSE
Princeton N. J.



for having been so long silent. If I should offer anything in excuse it would be great hurry arising from the duty of my station, on which account I have wrote only two or three letters since you left us. The school in town, which I had in view, as I make no doubt you know, is now occupied by M^r *Lynn*. And the terms of the school at *Blandensburg* are I think too low, to divert me from the course of my business. I could not however forego a good offer in a school abroad, for some short time. What you write concerning the offer of a Gentleman in Virginia, is, I think of considerable consequence, provided the conditions of teaching are not over burdensome; I should speedily agree to go and apply for the place, were I satisfied as to this.

I shall however, beg the assistance of your friendship, to enquire in what county the school is; what numbers and degrees of scholars there are; and if you think the place suitable, and if the Docter shall think proper to appoint me to it I am not unwilling to remove and accept it. Please to mention this to the Docter; and if he has not engaged a teacher, and is pleased to accept me, I hope you will acquaint me as speedily as may be, with what you can learn as to the time of beginning, the custom of the school, &c. You mentioned four in your last, who have applied to Presbytery, and are on tryal, I can tell you another, M^r Heith; he applied to the Philadelphia Presbytery but came to town, I understood so late, that before he made application the Presbytery was dissolved, some of the Members however, being still in town, at his request, gave him sundry pieces of exercise, which it is expected the Presbytery will acknowledge, so that he is the fifth out of our class who is designing soon to appear in public!

I am Sir yours, &c

PHILIP .V. FITHIAN

[WILLIAM SMITH TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU HALL July 27th 1773.

HONEST MAN.

When these few lines come to hand you may swear
————— O, I beg your pardon, I had almost forgot
that Parsons never swear any ——— however you may be
sure your honest old friend William Richmond Smith
was in the land of the living, when he wrote them, tho
they may indeed look like enough a dead mans scrawl,
but you know there are no posts or stages in the other
world by which you could expect a letter from me, un-
less you should imagine that I called to bate my horse
at Paddy's aunts who keeps a tavern a little ways on
this side of Purgatory and there hired a boy to bring
you back word how It fared with me so far on my
journey; (no bad conjecture upon my word) tho' it does
not happen to be the case; But if I minded in the land
of the living it is well, for old Mors has had me just at
the point of his Scythe many a time since I saw you;
tho' I kick and scuffle most notoriously and have hith-
erto held my ground tho' with some sore blows, even
untill my phiz in a great measure resembles the old
Gentleman's.

You said in your last you expected to see me in
August, so I hoped some time ago myself, but one or
two of my class mates who formerly went to school at
my fathers told me they would go home with me and
spend a week or two I could not consistent with good
manners refuse them, but I have not lost all hopes of
seeing you sometime at Deerfield tho' dont know when.

There have been indeed many altercations,¹ involu-
tions, and changes since you left Nassau Hall, in the
first place as to the Town itself it is making vast strides

¹ Doubtless *alterations* is intended.

towards being a sea port-town; M^{rs} Field has erected a very brilliant house between Gaa's¹ and Plumbs I wish travelers may not mistake it for the College. And Mounteer Esq^r has built himself a little Tower nearly opposite to M^r Hie's² I suppose to rival him, his slaughter house I believe was built before you went away, which thro' the multiplicity of his custom he has converted into a shade for horses————Plumb has got his house new fronted and painted so that if your eyes are not uncommonly strong when you come to Princeton you may chance to lose them——

Paterson has this summer made considerable addition to his house.

Maning his next door neighbour has repaired his old house and built a new one——And a little ways further down the street there is another new one built but whose it is I cannot tell, and a little further down still somebody else has painted their house a new so that it cuts a flaming dash.

Potter has made considerable amendments on his castle; and Whitehead has built a waggon house for his coach.

As to our new steward I think it is out of the frying-pan plump into the fire. I am just come from the Hall where I have been singing.

“Those wand'ring cisterns in the sky
Borne by the winds around,
With wat'ry treasures well supply
The furrows of the ground.”

¹ The names of Gilbert Gaa, William Mountier, Richard Patterson, and W. Whitehead, appear in a petition of the inhabitants of Princeton to the New Jersey Assembly, under the date of July 22, 1758, complaining of an excessive quartering of British troops in the town. See Hageman's *Princeton and its Institutions*, V. I, 64.

² Probably intended for Hyer, the keeper of the Hudibras Inn.

The other evening we had a pleasant shower after long expectation and ever since, the Doctor has been praising, returning thanks and singing about it, and not without good reason for his turnip-patch and corn-gardens seem since to have put on a fresh bloom.

In three weeks time our examination comes on I wish it was past.

I wish I had more time to tell you more news, but as I have not I must yield to fate and tell you I am as usual

Your affectionate

WILLIAM SMITH.

[PHILIP FITHIAN TO DR. WITHERSPOON.]

GREENWICH august 30th 1773.

REV^d.¹ SIR.

I am sorry that I may inform you of the dissatisfaction which my friends in general since my return home seem to discover, with my intention of going this fall to *Virginia*. However willing I am myself to accept the proposal and go, it will not be easy to break through the entreaties of those who are my nearest relations, and who have all along, with the warmest friendship interested themselves to procure my welfare. I do not intend by any means, abruptly to decline the fulfilling my agreement, but only to desire to know, if there are not some to be found among the late Seniors who would willingly discharge me by accepting the offer themselves. If not I have only further to beg, that you would be pleased, Rev^d. Sir, to favour me

with the proposal of the gentleman; and so soon as there is a return from him, I shall be glad to know the time when I must leave home;

I am Rev^d Sir,

with great respect,

your humble Serv^t

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

P. S. Letters come safe sent by the princeton stage, and directed to me at Greenwich.

[ANDREW HUNTER, JR., TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

NASSAU HALL Sept^r 6th 1773.

D^r SIR.

I am very sorry that I cannot answer your letter so much to your satisfaction as I could desire. Doctor Witherspoon is gone to New-England to the convention and is not expected home 'till the latter end of this week — he received no account from Virginia before he went from home. You may trust that I will let you know whenever I can hear anything related to your prospect of going to the southward.

M^r Imlay¹ is gone from College and is not expected back 'till near commencement, however I have talked with some of his acquaintances, and they say he expects to go.

I would have the spelling of your name corrected, but the catalogue is sent off, and I suppose by this time is in the press. I thank you for the good news you give me concerning the young lady's health.

¹ William Eugene Imlay, who graduated in 1773.

I was very uneasy about the account we heard before you left princeton.

We go on pretty well in College, but I hope we shall have two or three of the *possessed swine* turned off when the Doctor comes home.

Do write me every week and give what news you can.

I am, Sir,

Your friend.

AND^w HUNTER.

[WILLIAM SMITH TO PHILIP FITHIAN.]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct^r 3^d 1773.

FUTURUS PEDEGOG'ISSIMUS.

Fe — o — whiraw, whiraw, hi, fal, fal, lal de lal dal a fine song — commencement is over whiraw I say again whiraw, whiraw.

And what is more never was there such a commencement¹ at princeton before and most likely never will be again. The galleries were cracking every now

¹ At this date the annual commencement was held in the fall, and it became the great public holiday of the year, attended by thousands of people. Owing to the many evils consequent upon so large a gathering, the college authorities, in 1844, decided to change the time from the latter part of September to June, which was accordingly done. President Maclean in his *History of the College of New Jersey* (V. 2, 81) referring to this change, says in part :

“ Eating, drinking, dancing, and fiddling, playing for pennies and testing the speed of their horses were the amusements in which no small numbers of those assembled on such occasions were wont to indulge, and when a lad, the writer once witnessed a bull-baiting on the college grounds, while the exercises were going on in the church . . . But from all these unhappy accompaniments of the commencement exercises, the college was entirely relieved by simply changing the commencement from the last Wednesday in September, to the last Wednesday in June.”

and then all day — every mouse hole in the church was cram'd full — The stage covered with Gentlemen and ladies amongst whom was the Governor¹ and his lady; and that he might not appear singular Lee² was stiff with lace, gold-lace —

A band of music from Philadelphia assisted to make all agreeable and to crown the whole the eloquence of Demosthenes was heard in almost every mans mouth, so that the person who spoke last was always the hero of the tale — O murder! what shall I do I want to say a great deal to you but cannot for the girls who are almost distracting my heart — O murder! murder, murder I say what will become of me, murder, murder — I shall go distracted — I saw Dr. Beatty³ and Betsy — I gave your love to them — and indeed to tell you the truth I could not for my life help leaving my own heart, and love, and all with Betsy — she is really a sweet soul. I wish ten millions and she were mine, I should be a happy creature, happy indeed to the last degree — I got cleverly up from cohansie early in the evening — My love ten thousand times and ten thousand kisses to all the girls of my acquaintance.

I cannot quit but must

WILL^M. R. SMITH.

¹ William Franklin, the last royal governor of New Jersey, from 1753 until the outbreak of the Revolution.

² Henry Lee of the class of 1773, afterward governor of Virginia.

³ Dr. John Beatty of Princeton, and Elizabeth Beatty his sister, afterward Mrs. Philip Fithian.

JOURNAL IN VIRGINIA

1773—1774

THE CONTINUATION¹ OF MY JOURNAL.

Wednesday October 20th 1773.

Left Greenwich by six in the Morning. Rode to Michael Hoshel's 8 Miles. Thence, Mr. Hoshel & John Peck² along, rode to Quinton's-Bridge 8 Miles. Expence there 1/: Rode thence to Penn's-Neck Ferry by two o'Clock 10 Miles. Expence at Toll-Bridge /2. Ferriage over Delaware 4/6. Oats & Cordial in New-Castle 1/2. Rode thence to Mr. Achan's Tavern 12 Miles. Whole distance 38 Miles. Whole Expence 6/10.

(Thursday) Octob: 21.

Expence at Mr. Achan's 3/4. Rode thence to North-East 12 Miles. Breakfast 1/6. Thence to Sesquehannah 10 Miles. Ferriage 1/: Oats /9. At Bush-Town by 4 o'Clock 12 Miles. Whole Distance 34 Miles. Whole Expence 6/7.

Fryday 22^d.

Expence at Bush-Town 4/2. Rode thence to a small, mean Tavern to Breakfast, 13 Miles — Expence

¹ Continued from Fithian's juvenile diary, kept in 1767-'69. The above journal opens with an account of his journey from Greenwich, New Jersey, to Councillor Carter's home in Westmoreland County, Virginia. As has been mentioned in the introduction, Fithian passed the time after graduation from college and before going into Virginia to teach, in the study of Theology at Greenwich.

² John Peck graduated at Princeton in 1774, and afterward succeeded Fithian as tutor at Nomini Hall. He subsequently married Ann Tasker, daughter of Councillor Carter (the "Nancy" of this journal), and settled in Richmond County, Virginia.

1/6. Thence to Baltimore by one o-Clock 13 Miles. Whole Distance 26 Miles — Whole Expence 5/8.

Saturday 23d.

Expence at Baltimore 15/3. Rode and forded Petap-sko to a small Tavern 15 Miles. Expence 1/11. Rode thence to Blandensburg¹ 23 Miles. Whole Distance 38 Miles. Whole Expence 17/2.

Sunday 24.

Expence at Blandensburg 5/7. Rode thence to George-town 8 Miles. Expence 1/16. Ferriage /6. — From thence we rode by *Alexandria*, 9 Miles — Thence to Colchester 18 Miles — Dined — Expence 3/9. Ferriage /6. Rode thence to Dumfries 10 Miles. Whole distance 45 Miles. Whole Expence 11/4.

Monday 25.

Expence at Dumfries 4/5. Rode thence to Aquia 10 Miles. Expence 2/4 — Rode thence to Stafford-Court-House 12 Miles. Whole Distance 22 Miles. Whole Expence 6/6.

Teusday 26.

Expence at Stafford 5/. Stopped at Colonel Thomas Lee's,² only a few Rods from Stafford Tavern. Continued there all day, and the following Night. Expence to Day 5/.

¹ Bladensburg Md. ; famous afterward as the scene of many duels, the most notorious being the fatal Decatur-Barron affair.

² Col. Thomas Ludwell Lee (1730-78), fourth son of President Thomas Lee, and brother of Richard Henry, was conspicuous as a patriot and a lawyer. He was a member of the House of Burgesses ; of the Convention of July and December, 1775 ; and of the Committee of Safety. He was also a member of the committee appointed to draft a declaration of rights, and at the time of his death, was one of the five judges of the General Court. (Grigsby's *Virginia Convention of 1776*, 131.)

Wednesday 27.

Expence to boy 1/. Rode from Mr. Lees to a small poor Ordinary 13 Miles——Expence /8 for Oats——Rode thence, without feeding to Captain Cheltons. on the Potowmack 32 Miles——Whole Distance 45 Miles. Whole Expence 1/8.

Thursday 28.

Rode after Breakfast to the Honorable Rob: Carters¹ the End of my Journey; 12 Miles, by two-o'Clock in the Afternoon. Both Myself, and my Horse seem neither tired nor Dispirited——Occasional Expenses on the Road. In Baltimore for some Buff-Ball 1/6. In Blandensburg for having straps put to my Saddle-Bags 3/. In Colchester for Shaving and Dress-1/3. The whole 5/9. So that my whole distance appears to be 260 Miles. performed in seven Days. And my whole Expence appears to be

£	S	D
3	..	6..6.

Fryday 29.

Settled myself in the Room appointed me——and adjusted my affairs after my Ride.

Saturday 30.

Rode with M^r: Carters eldest Son to a Store, about seven Miles—Bought half a Box of Wafers for 1/——And a quire of paper for 1/6. Dined at three——And rode into Richmond Parish 15 Miles to M^r: Fantleroy——Was introduced to M^r: Fantleroy——two of his Sons——M^r: Christian a dancing Master.

¹ Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, called "Councillor." For biographical sketch, see introduction.

Sunday 31.

Rode to Church six Miles — Heard Mr Gibbern¹ preach on Felixes trembling at Pauls Sermon.

Monday Novem^r. 1st.

We began School — The School consists of eight — Two of Mr Carters Sons — One Nephew² — And five Daughters — The eldest Son is reading Salust: Gramatical Exercises, and latin Grammer — The second Son is reading english Grammar & Reading English: Writing and Cyphering in Subtraction — The Nephew is Reading and Writing as above; and Ciphering in Reduction — The eldest daughter is Reading the Spectator; Writing; & beginning to Cypher — The second is reading next out of the Spelling-Book, and beginning to write — The next is reading in the Spelling-Book — the fourth is Spelling in the beginning of the Spelling-Book — And the last is beginning her letters.

Teusday 1.

Busy in School — begun to read Pictete.³

Wednesday 3.

Busy in School.

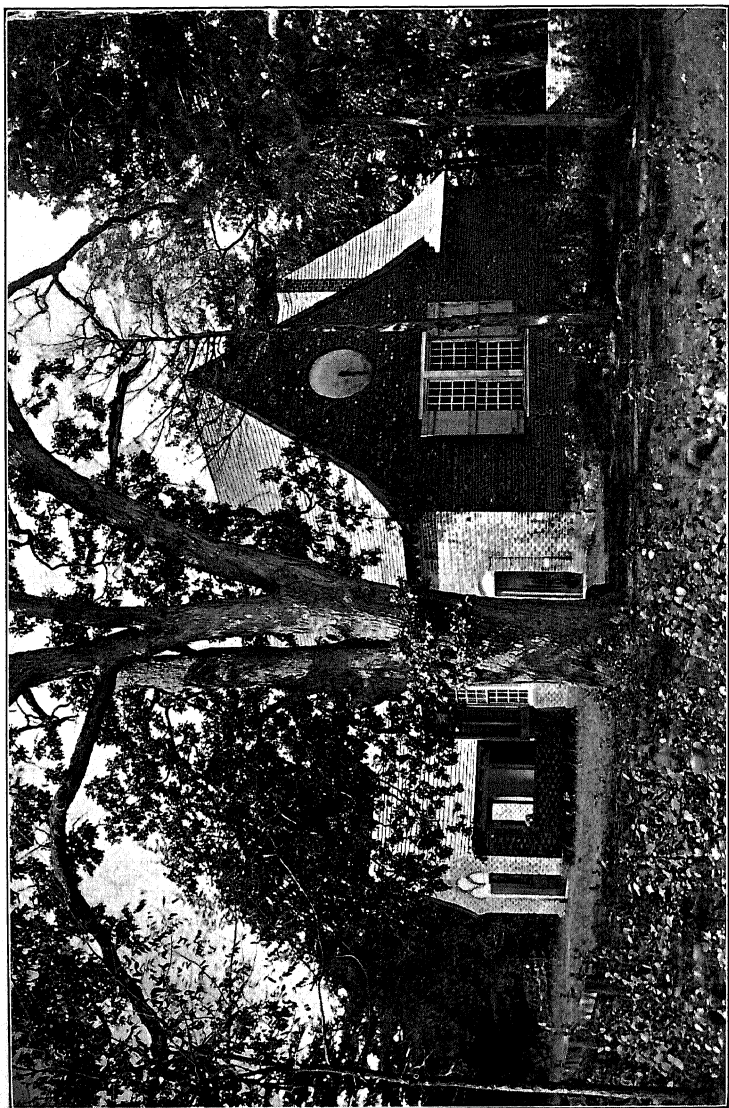
Thursday 4.

Busy in School — To day the two eldest daughters, and second Son attended the Dancing School.

¹ Rev. Isaac William Giberne, rector of Lunenburg Parish from 1762, for perhaps twenty years. He was an Englishman (said to have been a nephew of the Bishop of Durham), a man of much wit and talent, and noted for his convivial habits. (*Am. Hist. Review*, V. 5, No. 2, 292.)

² Harry Willis, son of Councillor Carter's sister, Elizabeth Carter Willis.

³ Benedict Pictet, *Theologia Christiana*, 1696.



OLD YEOCOMICO CHURCH
Westmoreland County Virginia

Fryday 5.

Busy in School.

Saturday 6.

Catechised in School til twelve — the Children. And dismissed them. Afternoon rode with Ben Carter to the Bank of Potowmack—8 miles — Returned in the evening — Expençe Ferriage 1/.

Sunday 7.

Rode to Ucomico¹ Church — 8 Miles — Heard Parson Smith. He shewed to us the uncertainty of Riches, and their Insufficiency to make us happy — Dined at Captain Walkers; With Parson Smith; his wife; her Sister, a young Lady; &c — Returned in the Evening.

Monday 8.

Busy in School — Finished reading the first, and begun to read the Second Book of Pictetes Theology. Expençe to Boy /4.

Teusday 9.

Busy in School.

Wednesday 10.

Busy in School — The eldest Daughter taken off by her teacher in Music: M^{rs} Stadley who is learning her to play the *Forte-piano*.

¹ This interesting old church still stands, having survived the changes and vicissitudes of two centuries. It is one of the oldest homes of the Church of England in Virginia, having been built in 1706; it is now in good repair and is still regularly used as a place of worship by those of the Episcopal faith. It is said that the original silver communion service was given by Queen Anne. For a full account of Yeocomico Church see Bishop Mead's *Old Churches of Virginia*, II. 148-157. The minister of Cople Parish at this time was Rev. Thomas Smith. (*Am. Hist. Review*, V. 5, No. 2. 293. n. 1.)

Thursday 11.

Rose by seven—Busy in School—Miss Carter still absent.

Fryday 12.

Rose by Seven — Ben begun his Greek Grammer — Three in the afternoon M^r. Carter returned from *Williamsburg*. He seems to be agreeable, discreet, and sensible—He informed me more particularly concerning his desire as to the Instruction of his Children.

Saturday 13.

Catechised the Children and dismissed them about Eleven — Read in Pictete — and proceeded in writing my Sermon for the Presbytery — Expençe for my Horse 1/3.

Sunday 14.

Rode to Nominy Church about six Miles — the day cold — Parson Smith preached — “What shall a man be profited” &c. Rode home after Sermon — Dined at M^r. Carters to day M^{rs} Turbuville, Miss Jenny Corbin, and M^r. Cunningham a young Merchant.

Monday 15.

Busy in School — Wrote in the evening at my Sermon.

Teusday 16.

In School — Writing at my Sermon.

Wednesday 17.

Busy in School.

Thursday 18.

Busy in School.

Fryday 19.

Busy in School.

Saturday 20.

Rode to Mr Fishers dined with Mr Cunningham at 3 o-Clock — Rode in the evening to Mr Lancelot Lees,¹ a young Gentleman, who has lately come from England; sup'd on Oysters — Rode home about nine o-Clock he along.

Sunday 21.

Rode to Church — Mr Smith preached on the Parable of the rich Man. Dined at home — Mr Lee dined with us — Reading in Pictete — Feel very home-sick — Saw two Brothers quarrel — Doleful Sight.

Monday 22.

Busy in School — Mr Lee gave us his Company in the morning in School, and was very chearful — he left us about twelve o-Clock.

Teusday 23.

Busy in School — Miss Carter rode out with her Dady and Mama to the County Court — Writing at my Sermons.

Wednesday 24.

Busy in School.

Thursday 25.

Rode this morning to Richmond Court-house, where two Horses run for a purse of 500 Pounds: besides small Betts almost enumerable.

¹Son of George Lee of Mt. Pleasant, in Westmoreland County, and younger brother of the George Lee mentioned in these pages.

One of the Horses belonged to Colonel John Tayloe,¹ and is called *Yorick*——The other to Dr Flood, and is called *Gift*——The Assembly was remarkably numerous; beyond my expectation and exceeding polite in general.

The horses started precisely at five minutes after three; the Course was one Mile in Circumference, they performed the first Round in two minutes, third in two minutes and a-half. *Yorick* came out the fifth time round about 40 Rod before *Gift* they were both, when the Riders dismounted very lame; they run five Miles, and Carried 180 lb.——Rode home in the evening——Expence to the Boy /7½.

Fryday 26.

Busy in School——Robin, & Nancy at dancing-School.

Saturday 27.

Robin and Nancy yet at Dancing-School——Mr Harry Fantleroy called after dinner to see us. In the evening Ben & I rode with him to his fathers; I was introduced to one Mr Walker a Scotch Gentleman, lately a School-master but has quit, and is going in the Spring for the Gown to England.

Sunday 28.

Rode to Church——the Parson was absent; it is indeed a little cold! The Clerk read prayers for us——We rode home——Found at Home two young Ladies,

¹Of Mt. Airy in Richmond County, a member of the Council and one of the most noted turfmen of the state. *Yorick* was one of the celebrated horses of the day. See *Va. Hist. Magazine* V. II. 293-306:—"Racing in Colonial Virginia."

Miss Corbin, and Miss Turburville¹ and Mr George Lee,² brother to the Gentleman here last Sunday, & has lately returned from England — I was introduced by Mr Carter to the two latter.

Monday 29.

All our Scholars present — Mr Carter has put into my hands; Tyro's Dictionary, and the pronouncing Dictionary, to improve his Sons in Grammar classically, both Latin and English, and he has given me Fenning in Arithmetic.

Tuesday 30.

Busy in School — I was solicited the other Day at the Race by one Mr *Gorden*, to take and instruct two of his Sons; Saturday also I was again solicited by Mr Fantleroy to take two of his Sons — But I must decline it.

Wednesday Decem^r. 1st 1773.

Busy in School — Wrote home by the Post, to Mr Green³ & *Johnny Peck*. Afternoon vacant.

¹ Lettice Corbin Turberville, daughter of Mrs. John Turberville of Hickory Hill, Westmoreland County, at this time a child, afterward mother of Major-General Roger Jones U. S. A., and of Commodore ap Catesby Jones. Miss Corbin was Jane Corbin, sister of Mrs. Turberville. (*Am. Hist. Review* V. 5, No. 2, 295, n. 2.)

² George Fairfax Lee of Mt. Pleasant, Westmoreland County; son of George Lee of Mt. Pleasant. (See Lee's *Lee of Virginia*.)

³ Rev. Enoch Green, graduated at Princeton 1760, was pastor of the Presbyterian church at Deerfield, N. J., 1767-76. Under his teaching Fithian prepared for College and afterward studied theology. Rev. Mr. Green married Mary, eldest child of Rev. Charles Beatty, June 7, 1770. He served for a short time as chaplain in the Revolutionary Army, and there contracted a camp fever which terminated his life, December 2, 1776. For letters referred to in text, see appendix.

Thursday 2.

Busy in School.

Fryday 3.

Busy in School. Expence to Boy for trimming my Horse half a Bit. Evening after School walked in the fields with M^{rs} Carter, Miss Carter and Miss Nancy.

Saturday 4.

About Eleven Ben and I rode to M^r Lees¹ walked over a Part of his Farm; from his house we see the Potowmack, and a fine River putting from it. We returned in the Evening, found M^r Fantleroy, and M^r Walker at Home; at Supper I had the pleasure to toast in my turn Miss Corbin — But I meant the absent *Laura!*²

Sunday 5.

Rode to Richmond upper Church, a Polite Assembly; M^r Gibbern gave us a Sermon on, O Death I will be thy Plague &c. a warm discourse. Dined at home.

Monday 6.

M^r Walker left us after Breakfast. Busy in School.

Tuesday 7.

M^r Stadley Miss Priscilla's Music Master arrived this morning — He performed several pieces on the Violin. Expence for an Orange half a Bit.

Wednesday 8.

Miss Priscilla with her Music Master. they performed together to day.

¹ Probably George Lee of Mt. Pleasant.

² A reference to Elizabeth Beatty.

Thursday 9

M^r Stadley left us. Busy in School.

Fryday 10.

Miss Nancy is beginning on the *Guitar*. Ben finished reading Salusts Cataline Conspiracy.

Saturday 11.

Rode and Dined with Captain Walker — Saw and dined with Miss *Simpson* and M^r Warden.

Sunday 12.

Rode to Nominy-Church, parson Smith preached 15 minutes — Advertisement at the Church door dated Sunday Decem^r 12th Pork to be sold to-morrow at 20/. per Hundred — dined with us to day Captain Walker, Colonel Rich^d Lee¹; & M^r Lancelot Lee. Sat after dinner till Sunset, drank three Bottles of Medaira, two Bowls of Toddy!

Monday 13.

M^r Carter is preparing for a Voyage in his Schooner, the *Hariot*, to the Eastern Shore in Maryland, for Oysters: there are of the party, M^r *Carter*, Captain *Walker* Colonel *Rich^d Lee*, & M^r *Lancelot Lee*. With Sailors to work the vessel — I observe it is a general custom on Sundays here, with Gentlemen to invite one another home to dine, after Church; and to consult about, & determine their common business, either before or after Service — It is not the custom for Gentlemen to go into Church til Service is beginning, when they enter

¹ Richard Henry Lee, the famous orator and statesman, was born at Stratford, the 20th of January 1732. Died at his residence, Chantilly on the 19th of June, 1794, and was buried in the family burial ground, in the "Burnt House Fields" Mt. Pleasant, Westmoreland County, as he desired in his will.

in a Body, in the same manner as they come out; I have known the Clerk to come out and call them in to prayers. — They stay also after the Service is over, usually as long, sometimes longer, than the Parson was preaching — Almost every Lady wears a red Cloak; and when they ride out they tie a red handkerchief over their Head and face, so that when I first came into Virginia, I was distressed whenever I saw a Lady, for I thought she had the Tooth-Ach! — The People are extremely hospitable, and very polite both of which are most certainly universal Characteristics of the Gentlemen in Virginia — some swear bitterly, but the practise seems to be generally disapproved — I have heard that this Country is notorious for Gaming, however this be, I have not seen a Pack of *Cards*, nor a *Die*, since I left home, nor gaming or Betting of any kind except at the Richmond-Race. Almost every Gentleman of Condition, keeps a Chariot and *Four*; many drive with six Horses — I observe that all the Merchants and shopkeepers in the Sphere of my acquaintance and I am told it is the Case through the Province, are young Scotch-Men; several of whom I know, as *Cunningham*, *Jennings*, *Hamilton*, *Blain*; — and it has been the custom heretofore to have all their Tutors, and Schoolmasters from Scotland, tho' they begin to be willing to employ their own Countrymen — Evening Ben Carter and myself had a long dispute on the practice of fighting — He thinks it best for two persons who have any dispute to go out in good-humour & fight manfully, & says they will be sooner and longer friends than to brood and harbour malice — M^r *Carter* is practising this evening on the *Guittar* He begins with the *Trumpet Minuet*. He has a good Ear for Music; a vastly delicate Taste: and keeps good Instruments, he has here at Home a

*Harpsichord, Forte-Piano, Harmonica,*¹ *Guittar & German Flutes*, & at Williamsburg, has a good *Organ*, he himself also is indefatigable in the Practice.

Teusday 14.

Busy in School — The Weather vastly fine! There has been no Rain of consequence, nor any stormy or disagreeable Weather, since about the 10th of last Month! From the Window, by which I write, I have a broad, a diversified, and an exceedingly beautiful Prospect of the high craggy Banks of the River *Nominy!* Some of those huge Hills are cover'd thick with *Cedar*, & Pine Shrubs; A vast quantity of which seems to be in almost every part of this Province — Others are naked, & when the Sun Shines look beautiful! At the Distance of about 5 Miles is the River Potowmack over which I can see the smoky Woods of Maryland; at this Window I often stand, and cast my Eyes homeward with peculiar pleasure! Between my window and the potowmack, is Nominy Church, it stands close on the Bank of the River Nominy, in a pleasant agreeable place. Mr Carter's family go down often, so many as can with convenience in a Boat rowed by four Men, and generally arrive as soon as those who ride.

The mouth of Nominy River where it falls into Potowmack is about 25 miles above the mouth of Potowmack or where it falls into the Chessopeak-Bay. And about 12 Miles below the mouth of Nominy the River Ucomico puts up into the country, near which River,

¹ This is described by the Councillor in his note-book, as one of the wonderful new instruments invented by "Mr. B. Franklin of Philadelphia, an Armonica, being the musical glasses without water, framed into a complete instrument, capable of through bass and never out of tune." The organ was made for him in London, after certain directions furnished by Peter Pelham, Williamsburg's chief musician. See Glenn's *Colonial Mansions*, V. I, 267.

and about three miles from the mouth stands the lower parish Church of Westmoreland-County call'd Ucomico Church. The River Potowmack opposite to us the People say is 10 miles over, but I think it is not more than 8. Afternoon Captain *Grigg*, who arrived last Sunday morning into the River Ucomico from *London* visited M^r Carter. Evening reading Pictete.

Wednesday 15.

Busy in School——To day Dined with us M^{rs} Turburville, & her Daughter Miss Letty Miss Jenny Corbin, & M^r Blain. We dined at three. The manner here is different from our way of living in Cohansie——In the morning so soon as it is light a Boy knocks at my Door to make a fire; after the Fire is kindled, I rise which now in the winter is commonly by Seven, or a little after. By the time I am drest the Children commonly enter the School-Room, which is under the Room I sleep in; I hear them round one lesson, when the Bell rings for eight o-Clock (for M^r Carter has a large good Bell of upwards of 60 Lb. which may be heard some miles, & this is always rung at meal Times;) the Children then go out; and at half after eight the Bell rings for Breakfast, we then repair to the Dining-Room; after Breakfast, which is generally about half after nine, we go into School, and sit til twelve, when the Bell rings, & they go out for noon; the dinner-Bell rings commonly about half after two, often at three, but never before two——After dinner is over, which in common, when we have no Company, is about half after three we go into School, & sit till the Bell rings at five, when they separate til the next morning; I have to myself in the Evening, a neat Chamber, a large Fire, Books, & Candle and my Liberty, either to continue in

the School room, in my own Room, or to sit over at the great House with M^r & M^{rs} Carter—— We go into Supper commonly about half after eight or at nine & I usually go to Bed between ten and Eleven. Altho the family in which I live, is certainly under as good political Regulations, and every way as suitable and agreeable as I can expect, or even could desire: & though the Neighbourhood is polite, & the Country pleasant, yet I cannot help reflecting on my situation last winter, which was near the lovely *Laura*¹ for whom I cannot but have the truest, and the warmest Esteem! Possibly, If Heaven shall preserve my life, in some future time, I may again enjoy her good society.

M^r Carter heard this evening that Captain *Walker* cannot go to Maryland, he is thus stop'd.

Thursday 16.

I can only to day write down my Misfortune; my poor Horse as he was feeding in a miry Bottom, walked upon a sharp Stick, which stuck into his Thigh on the under Side about four Inches below his Flank!—— The Stick went in more than three Inches!—— He is very lame, but they tell me will recover. The Hostler, when we had led him to the Stable, applied Spirits of Turpentine to the part, and in the Evening is to fill it with Comfrey Roots pounded Soft.

I had the pleasure of walking to day at twelve o-Clock with M^{rs} Carter; She shewed me her stock of *Fowls & Mutton* for the winter; She observed, with great truth, that to live in the Country, and take no pleasure at all in Groves, Fields, or Meadows; nor in

¹ A reference to Miss Elizabeth Beatty of New Jersey, who married Philip Fithian, October 25th, 1775, and to whom he usually refers as the "Lovely Laura."

Cattle, Horses, & domestic Poultry, would be a manner of life too tedious to endure; Dined at three.

Fryday 17.

I dismissed the children this morning til monday on account of M^r Christian's *Dance*, which, as it goes through his Scholars in Rotation happens to be here to Day——I myself also am unwell, so as not to go out;——M^{rs} Carter sent me over Coffee for Breakfast; & soon after some Spirits of *Hartshorn* for my head——At twelve she sent the waiting Man to know if I was better, & what I would choose for Dinner. I thank'd her, & desired that she would give herself no trouble; She was careful, however, for her undistinguished kindness, to send me before Dinner some hot *Barley Broth*.——*Ben Carter* before Noon introduced into my Room, M^r *Billy-Booth*, a young Gentleman of Fortune, who is one of M^r Christian's pupils——The two Master Fanciers came in also to see me——There came to the dance three *Chariots*, two *Chairs*,¹ & a number of Horses. Towards Evening I grew Better, & walked down, with a number of young Fellows to the River; after our return I was strongly solicited by the young Gentlemen to go in and dance I declined it, however, and went to my Room not without Wishes that it had been a part of my Education to learn what I think is an innocent and an ornamental, and most certainly, in this province is a necessary qualification for a person to appear even decent in Company!

M^{rs} *Carter* in the Evening, sent me for Supper, a Bowl of hot Green Tea, & several *Tarts*. I expected that they would have danced til late in the Night, but

¹ A two-wheeled carriage drawn by one horse : a chaise. *Century Dict.*

intirely contrary to my Expectation, the Company were separated to their respective apartments before half after nine o-Clock.

Saturday 18.

Rose by Seven, Sent for M^r: Carters Barber and was drest for Breakfast—— We went in to Breakfast at ten; —— I confess I have been seldom more dash'd than when I entered the dining-Room, for I must of necessity be interrogated by M^r: *Carter* before them all, about my indisposition, and if I was better; —— I went through the several Ceremonies with as much resolution, and speed as possible, and soon mixed with the Company in promiscuous conversation. There were present of Grown persons M^r: & M^{rs}: *Carter*, M^{rs}: *Lee*, & Miss *Jenny Corbin*; young Misses about Eleven; & Seven young Fellows, including myself; —— After Breakfast, we all retired into the Dancing-Room, & after the Scholars had their Lesson singly round M^r: *Christian*, very politely, requested me to step a *Minuet*: I excused myself, however, but signified my peculiar pleasure in the accuracy of their performance——There were several Minuets danced with great ease and propriety; after which the whole company joined in country-dances, and it was indeed beautiful to admiration, to see such a number of young persons, set off by dress to the best advantage, moving easily, to the sound of well performed Music, and with perfect regularity, tho' apparently in the utmost disorder——The Dance continued til two, we dined at half after three—— soon after Dinner we repaired to the Dancing-Room again; I observe in the course of the lessons, that M^r: *Christian* is punctual, and rigid in his discipline, so strict indeed that he struck two of the young Misses for a fault in the

course of their performance, even in the presence of the Mother of one of them! And he rebuked one of the young Fellows so highly as to tell him he must alter his manner, which he had observed through the Course of the Dance, to be insolent, and wanton, or absent himself from the School — I thought this a sharp reproof to a young Gentleman of seventeen, before a large number of Ladies! — When it grew too dark to dance, the young Gentlemen walked over to my Room, we conversed til half after six; Nothing is now to be heard of in conversation, but the *Balls*, the *Fox-hunts*, and fine *entertainments*, and the *good fellowship*, which are to be exhibited at the approaching *CHRISTMAS*. — I almost think myself happy that my Horses lameness will be a sufficient Excuse for my keeping at home on these Holidays. — M^r Goodlet was barred out of his School last Monday by his Scholars, for Christmas Holidays, which are to continue til twelfth-day; But my Scholars are of a more quiet nature, and have consented to have four or five Days now, and to have their full Holiday in May next, when I propose by permission of Providence to go Home, where I hope to see the good and benevolent *Laura*.

When the candles were lighted, we all repaired, for the last time, into the dancing-Room; first each couple danced a Minuet; then all joined as before in the country Dances, these continued till half after Seven when M^r Christian retired; and at the proposal of several, (with M^r Carters approbation) we played *Button*, to get Pauns for Redemption; here I could join with them, and indeed it was carried on with sprightliness, and Decency; in the course of redeeming my Pauns I had several kisses of the Ladies! — Early in

the Evening came colonel Philip Lee,¹ in a travelling Chariot from Williamsburg — Half after eight we were rung in to Supper; The room looked luminous and splendid; four very large candles burning on the table where we supped; three others in different parts of the Room; a gay, sociable Assembly, & four well instructed waiters! — So soon as we rose from supper, the Company formed into a semicircle round the fire, & M^r. Lee, by the voice of the Company was chosen *Pope*, and M^r. Carter, M^r. Christian, M^{rs}. Carter, M^{rs}. Lee, and the rest of the company were appointed Friars, in the Play call'd "break the Pope's neck" — Here we had great Diversion in the respective Judgments upon offenders, but we were all dismissed by ten, and retired to our several Rooms.

Sunday 19.

Early this morning, I was awaked out of sleep by two youngsters, (for we are thronged with company, so that two slept in my Room) who were agreeing upon a Ride the Day after Christmas, (which will be Sunday) up to Fredericksburg, which lies upon the Rapahan-nock, fifty Miles higher up the country than where we live; — Breakfasted at nine, soon after which all our company dispersed; I had the offer of a Horse, & was strongly solicited to go to Church, but I declined it — My Horse is very lame, his Thigh, from the fore down to his knee is much swell'd! — It runs, however, and the Hostler tells me it is mending. Dined at three;

¹ Philip Ludwell Lee (1727-1775), eldest son of President Lee, was a fellow-member with Robert Carter in the governor's council & took an active part in the commencement of the struggle for independence. He resided at Stratford and maintained the generous hospitality of his father. (*Am. Hist. Review* V. 5, No. 2, 297 n. 1.)

Miss Betsy Lee¹ dined with us — Writing to day my Sermon for the Presbytery. Sup'd on Oysters.

This is the first day I have missed Church.

Monday 20.

Rose at half after Seven; the morning extremely cold — We had in School to Day as visitors Miss Betsy, and Miss Matilda Lee.² M^r. Carter gave me for his Daughter Nancy to Read, the "Compleat Letter-writer" — also he put into my hands for the use of the School, "the British-Grammar."

Tuesday 21.

Rose by Half after Seven — the weather serene but sharp and cold — To day, before Dinner called in and stayed a short time M^r. Blain and M^r. Lee who were going to one M^r. Lanes to a *Christning*, which I understand is one of the chief times for Diversion here — Miss Carter, this afternoon told me that her Mama thought of giving a small *Ball* at the approaching Christmas for select friends.

Wednesday 22.

M^r. Cunningham came last Evening and staid the Night — There is a report that he is making suit to Miss Jenny Corbin. To day I finished my Sermon for the Presbytery — I read *Pictete*, *The Spectator*, *Salust*, *History of England*, *English Grammar*, *Arithmetic* and the *Magazines* by turns. Miss Priscilla, and Miss Nancy rode this morning in the Chariot over to M^r. Turburvills —

¹ Probably Elizabeth, daughter of John Lee of Essex, a nephew of President Thomas Lee. (*Am. Hist. Review*, V. 5, No. 2, 310, n. 1.)

² Daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee of Stratford; best known as the "Divine Matilda." She married General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry") of Revolutionary fame.

Bob, every day at twelve o-Clock, is down by the River Side with his Gun after Ducks, Gulls, etc.— Ben is on his Horse a Riding, Harry, is either in the Kitchen, or at the Blacksmiths, or Carpenters Shop. They all find places of Rendezvous so soon as the Bell rings, and all seem to choose different Spots!— To day dined with us M^r Cox the Gentleman at whose House I breakfasted the Day after I came first.— Evening M^r Carter spent in playing on the Harmonica;¹ It is the first time I have heard the Instrument. The music is charming! He play'd *Water parted from the Sea!*— The Notes are clear and inexpressibly Soft, they swell, and are inexpressibly grand; and either it is because the sounds are new, and therefore please me, or it is the most captivating Instrument I have ever heard. The sounds very much resemble the human voice, and in my opinion they far exceed even the swelling Organ.

Thursday 23.

Rose at eight — Rains this morning, the weather is also warmer. M^r Carter has sent his son Ben to his head *Overseer*, to take notice and account of the measuring the Crop of Corn — For the Planters now have just gathered in their Summers Crop! — To Day I write a letter to *Laura*: Waft it, kind Oppertunity, soon to the dear Maid, and Make it easy, & desirable for her to make me a Return!

At Dinner M^r & M^{rs} Carter gave their opinion concerning what they thought pleasing and agreeable in a person; M^{rs} Carter said she loved a sociable open, chatty person; that She could not bear Sullenness, and stupidity — M^r Carter, on the other hand,

¹ See page 59, note 1.

observed that it is just which Solomon says, that there is a "time for all things under the Sun;" that it discovers great judgment to laugh in Season, and that, on the whole, he is pleased with Taciturnity — Pray which of the two should I suit?

It is a custom with our *Bob* whenever he can coax his *Dog* up stairs, to take him into his Bed, and make him a companion; I was much pleased this morning while he and *Harry* were reading in Course a Chapter in the Bible, that they read in the 27th Chapter of Deuteronomy the Curses threatened there for Crimes; Bob seldom, perhaps never before, read the verse, at last read that "Cursed be he that lyeth with any manner of Beast, and all the People shall say Amen." I was exceedingly pleased, yet astonished at the Boy on two accounts. — 1st At the end of every verse, before he came to this, he would pronounce aloud, "Amen." But on Reading this verse he not only omitted the "Amen," but seemed visibly struck with confusion! — 2^d And so soon as the verse was read, to excuse himself, he said at once, Brother *Ben* slept all last winter with his Dog, and learn'd me! — Thus ready are Mankind always to evade Correction! — This Evening, after I had dismissed the Children, & was sitting in the School-Room cracking Nuts, none present but Mr. *Carters Clerk*, a civil, inoffensive, agreeable young Man, who acts both in the character of a Clerk and Steward, when the Woman who makes my Bed, asked me for the key of my Room, and on seeing the young Man sitting with me, she told him that her Mistress had this afternoon given orders that their Allowance of Meat should be given out to them to-morrow. — She left us; I then asked the young man what their allowance is? He told me that, excepting some favourites about the table

their weekly allowance is a peck of Corn, & a pound of Meat a Head! — And M^r Carter is allowed by all, & from what I have already seen of others, I make no Doubt at all but he is, by far the most humane to his Slaves of any in these parts! Good God! are these Christians? — When I am on the Subject, I will relate further, what I heard M^r George Lees Overseer, one Morgan, say the other day that he himself had often done to Negroes, and found it useful; He said that whipping of any kind does them no good, for they will laugh at your greatest Severity; But he told us he had invented two things, and by several experiments had proved their success. — For Sullenness, Obstinacy, or Idleness, says he, Take a Negro, strip him, tie him fast to a post; take then a sharp Curry-Comb, & curry him severely til he is well scraped; & call a Boy with some dry Hay, and make the Boy rub him down for several Minutes, then salt him, & unlose him. He will attend to his Business, (said the inhuman Infidel) afterwards! — But savage Cruelty does not exceed His next diabolical invention — To get a Secret from a Negro, says he, take the following Method — Lay upon your Floor a large thick plank, having a peg about eighteen Inches long, of hard wood, & very Sharp, on the upper end, fixed fast in the plank — then strip the Negro, tie the Cord to a staple in the Ceiling, so as that his foot may just rest on the sharpened Peg, then turn him briskly round, and you would laugh (said our informer) at the Dexterity of the Negro, while he was relieving his Feet on the sharpened Peg! — I need say nothing of these seeing there is a righteous God, who will take vengeance on such Inventions! — Miss *Priscilla* and *Nancy* returned in the evening.

Fryday 24.

Ben Rode off this morning before day to M^r Fantleroy, for Christmas I dismissed the children while next Wednesday. I was introduced by M^r Carter at Dinner, to D^r Jones¹ a practitioner in Richmond². I spent my Day in my Room alone as agreeably as I have done any since I have been in virginia copying off my Sermon, & correcting it. Retirement is as pleasing, & desirable to me here as at *princeton* or *Cohansie* ! & by Gods blessing I hope to make it as profitable. In the Evening I read the two first Books of *popes Homer*. D^r Jones supped with us, & is to stay the Night. The conversation at supper was on Nursing Children ; I find it is common here for people of Fortune to have their young Children suckled by the Negroes ! D^r Jones told us his first and only Child is now with such a Nurse ; & M^{rs} Carter said that Wenches have suckled several of hers——M^{rs} Carter has had thirteen Children³ She told us to night and she has nine now living ; of which seven are with me. Guns are fired this Evening in the Neighborhood, and the Negroes seem to be inspired with new Life. The

¹ Dr. Walter Jones of Richmond County, was educated at William and Mary College, and at Edinburgh, attained reputation as a scholar and physician ; during the Revolution was " Physician-General " for the hospitals of the middle department, and a member of Congress in 1797-99, and 1803-11.

² Richmond County.

³ Subjoined is a list of the children of Councillor Carter, taken from *The Carter Family Chart*, prepared and recently published (1896) by R. R. Carter of Shirley, Virginia, and found to be by far the most reliable genealogy of this family extant. The names of three other daughters appear in a manuscript genealogy, the property of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, but lack confirmation, and as this MSS. is inaccurate in many instances, can not be vouched for, They are : Mary, Amelia, and Rebecca, all dying unmarried.

Day has been serene and mild, but the Evening is hazy.
Supped on Oysters.

Saturday 25.

I was waked this morning by Guns fired all round the House. The morning is stormy, the wind at South East rains hard Nelson the Boy who makes my Fire, blacks my shoes, does errands &c. was early in my Room, drest only in his shirt and Breeches! He made me a vast fire, blacked my Shoes, set my Room in order, and wished me a joyful Christmas, for which I gave him half a Bit. — Soon after he left the Room, and before I was Drest, the Fellow who makes the Fire in our School Room, drest very neatly in green, but almost drunk, entered my chamber with three or four profound Bows, & made me the same salutation; I gave him a *Bit*, and dismissed him as soon as possible. — Soon after my Cloths and Linen were sent in with a message for a Christmas *Box*, as they call it; I sent the poor Slave a Bit, & my thanks. — I was obliged for want of small change, to put off for some days the Barber who shaves & dresses me. — I gave *Tom* the Coachman, who Doctors my Horse, for his care two Bits, & am to give more when the Horse is

The Carter geneaology in Glenn's *Some Colonial Mansions*, appears to have been taken from the Pennsylvania Historical Society's MSS. :

Robert ("Councillor") Carter
b. 1727. m. 1754. d. 1804.

Frances Ann Tasker

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| { | 1. Benjamin, <i>d. unm.</i> |
| | 2. Robert, <i>d. unm.</i> |
| | 3. John, <i>d. unm.</i> |
| | 4. Priscilla, <i>m.</i> Robert Mitchell. |
| | 5. Ann Tasker, <i>m.</i> { John Peck. |
| | — Quinlan. |
| | 6. Frances, <i>m.</i> Maj. Thos. Jones of Bathurst. |
| | 7. Betsey Landon, <i>m.</i> Spencer Ball. |
| | 8. Harriet, <i>m.</i> John Maund. |
| | 9. Sophia, <i>d. unm.</i> |
| | 10. Julia, <i>m.</i> Dr. Robert Berkeley. |
| | 11. George (of Oatlands), <i>m.</i> Betty Lewis. |
| 12. Sally, <i>m.</i> Dr. John Chinn. | |

well. — I gave to *Dennis* the Boy who waits at Table half a *Bit*—So that the sum of my *Donations* to the Servants, for this Christmas appears to be five Bits, a Bit is a pisterene¹ bisected; or an English sixpence, & passes here for seven pence Halfpenny. the whole is

S. D.
3 . . 1½.

At Breakfast, when M^r Carter entered the Room, he gave us the compliments of the Season. He told me, very civilly, that as my Horse was Lame, his own riding Horse is at my Service to ride when & where I Choose.

M^{rs} Carter was, as always, cheerful, chatty, & agreeable; She told me after Breakfast several droll, merry occurrences that happened while she was in the City Williamsburg.—

This morning came from the Post-office at Hobbes-Hole, on the Rappahannock, our News-papers. M^r Carter takes the Pennsylvania Gazette, which seems vastly agreeable to me, for it is like having something from home. — But I have yet no Answer to my Letter. We dined at four o-Clock — M^r Carter kept in his Room, because he breakfasted late, and on Oysters. — There were at Table M^{rs} Carter & her five Daughters that are at School with me—Miss *Princilla*, *Nancy*, *Fanny*, *Betsy*, and *Harriot*, five as beautiful delicate, well-instructed Children as I have ever known! — *Ben* is abroad; *Bob* & *Harry* are out; so there was no Man at Table but myself. — I must carve—Drink the Health—and talk if I can! Our dinner was no otherwise than common, yet as elegant a *Christmas Dinner*

¹ Pistareen, which then equalled about 19.4 of our cents; half of it, 9.7; the English sixpence, 12.2; seven-pence-halfpenny Virginia money, 10.4.—(*Am. Hist. Review* V. 5, No. 2, 298, n. 1.)

as I ever sat Down to—— The table Discourse was Marriage; M^{rs} *Carter* observed that was she a Widow, she should scruple to marry any man alive; She gave a reason, that she did not think it probable a man could love her grown old when the world is thronged with blooming, ripening Virgins; but in fact M^{rs} *Carter* looks & would pass for a younger Woman than some unmarried Ladies of my acquaintance, who would willingly enough make us place them below twenty!—— We dined at four; when we rose from table it was growing dark —— The wind continues at South East & is stormy and muddy.

M^r *Randolph* the Clerk told me this Evening a Circumstance concerning *Bob* which tho it discovered stupidity, yet at the same time discovered great thoughtfulness. —— It was about his sleeping with the *Dog*; M^r *Randolph* told me *Bob* asked him with great solemnity if he thought *God Almighty* knew it! —— While we supped M^r *Carter* as he often does played on the *Fortc-Piano*. He almost never sups. Last Night and to night I had large clear and very elegant *Spermaceti* Candles sent into my Room;

Sunday 26.

I rose at eight —— The morning is fair; all seem quiet —— I went to the window before I was drest, having only a Gown thrown about me & enjoyed a beautiful Prospect of the high Banks of the River *Nomini* gilded by the morning Sun —— I could not help casting my Eyes with eagerness over the blue *Potowmack* and look homewards.——After having paid my morning secret Devotion to the King of Kings, I sat myself to the correcting and transcribing my Sermon —— I had the pleasure to wait on M^{rs} *Carter* to

Church. She rode in the Chariot, & Miss Prissy and Nancy; M^r Carter chose to stay at Home——The sacrament was to have been administered but there was so few people that he thought it improper, and put of til Sunday fortnight. He preached from Isaiah 9.6. For unto us a child is Born &c. his Sermon was fifteen Minutes long! very fashionable——He invited me very civilly to Dine & spend the Evening with him, but I could not leave the Ladies. He made me almost promise, however to call some Day this Week.

At the Church to day I heard an impious expression from a young Scotch-Man, Tutor in M^r Washington's¹ Family; he meant it for a Satire upon the neglect of the people in suffering their *Grave Yard* to lie common——He saw some Cattle & Hogs feeding & rooting in the yard; “Why, says he, if I was buried here it would grieve me to look up and see *Swine* feeding over me”!——But I understand only the lower part of People are at the Church; for the Gentleman have private burying-yards.²

Monday 27.

At Breakfast M^{rs} Carter gave me an Invitation to wait on her to parson Smiths³ M^r Carter offered Me his riding Horse, a beautiful grey, young, lively Colt; We sat out about ten, M^{rs} Carter, Miss Prissy, Miss

¹ Presumably John Augustine Washington of Bushfield, younger brother of the future General Washington.

² Most of the landed estates had their private burial grounds, wherein the lords of the manor and their families were laid to rest; the churchyard being reserved for the lower classes. Many old families in the country parishes of Virginia still adhere to this custom.

³ Rev. Thomas Smith, then rector of Cople Parish, resided at the Glebe, near the banks of the Potomac.

Fanny, & Miss Betsy, in the Chariot; Bob and I were on Horse back; M^{rs} Carter had three waiting Men: a Coachman, Driver & Postillion. We found the way muddy; got there a little after twelve; M^r Smith was out; I was introduced by M^{rs} Carter to M^{rs} Smith, and a young Lady her Sister who lives with them; at Dinner I was at M^r Smiths request to “say Grace” as they call it; which is always express’d by the people in the following words, “God bless us in what we are to receive”——& after Dinner, “God made us thankful for his mercies. —— As we were sitting down to Table Ben Carter rode up; when we had dined, the Ladies retired, leaving us a Bottle of Wine, & a Bowl of Toddy for companions. Ben came with a Message for me to go to a Ball, but poor fellow, I can’t dance! —— He prest me very much, but I was forced to decline it.—— We returned in the Evening; & found M^r Carter & Miss Nancy practising Music, one on the Forte-Piano, and the other on the Guitar. M^r Carter is learning Bedford, Coleshill, and several other Church Tunes.

Teusday 28.

Last night there fell a Snow, which is about half Shoe deep, the Air is sharp, the wind at North, & Snows yet by turns. I finished and laid by my Sermon for the Presbytery this morning —— Breakfasted at ten; Ben staid last Night at M^r Turburville’s & got Home to day about twelve from his *Christmas Jaunt*. Spent most of the Day at the great House hearing the various Instruments of Music. Evening, at Miss Prissy’s Request I drew for her some Flowers on Linen which she is going to embroider, for a various Counterpane.

Wednesday 29.

This Morning our School begins after the Holidays. Bob seems sorry that he must forsake the Marsh & River where he is daily fowling, and never kills any game.

At Dinner we had the Company of Dr *Franks* who has been all along Mr Carters Clerk; but is now leaving Him. We had a large Pye cut to Day to signify the Conclusion of the Holidays. I drew, this afternoon more Flowers for Miss Prissy.

Thursday 30.

Dr Franks is moving. he has lived in the House adjoining our School. The morning is fine I rose by eight, breakfasted at ten. Miss Prissy & Nancy are to-Day Practising Music one on the Forte-Piano, the other on the Guitar. their Papa allows them for that purpose every Teusday, & Thursday. Ben is gone to the Quarter¹ to see to the measuring the crop of Corn. On his return in the Evening, when we were sitting & chatting, among other things he told me that we must have a House-warming, seeing we have now got possession of the whole House — It is a custom here whenever any *person* or *Family* move into a *House*, or repair a house they have been living in before, they make a *Ball* & give a Supper — So we, because we have gotten possession of the whole House, are in compliance with Custom, to invite our Neighbours, and dance, and be merry — But poor me! I must hobble, or set quiet in the Corner!

¹ The “quarter” was where the slaves’ quarters, or houses, were located.

Fryday 31.

I rose at eight. *Ben* gone again to the quarter — *Harriot* to Day, for the first time said all her letters —

The Colonel shewed me after Dinner a new invention, which is to be sure his own, for tuning his *Harp-sichord* & *Forte-Piano*: it is a number of *Whistles*, of various Sizes so as to sound all the Notes in one Octave. At twelve o-Clock M^r *Carter* ordered his Boy to bring two Horses, and himself & Miss *Prissy* rode out for an airing as the Day is vastly fine — As soon as the Bell rung and I had dismissed the Children I took a walk in the Garden; When I had gone round two or three Platts M^{rs} *Carter* entered and walked towards me. I then immediately turn'd and met Her; I bowed — Remarked on the pleasantness of the Day — And began to ask her some questions upon a Row of small slips — To all which she made polite and full answers; As we walked along she would move the ground at the Root of some plant; or prop up with small sticks the bended *scions* — We took two whole turns through all the several Walks, & had such conversation as the *Place* and *Objects* naturally excited — And after M^{rs} *Carter* had given some orders to the Gardiners (for there are two Negroes, Gardiners by Trade, who are constantly when the Weather will any how permit, working in it) we walked out into the *Area* viewed some Plumb-Trees, when we saw M^r *Carter* and Miss *Prissy* returning — We then repaired to the Slope before the front-Door where they dismounted — and we all went into the Dining Room. I shall in a proper time describe the great-House, & the several smaller ones in its neighbourhood; the *Area*, *Poplar-Walk*, *Garden*, & *Pasture*: In the mean time I shall

only say, they discover a delicate and Just Tast, and are the effect of great *Invention & Industry, & Expence*. At Dinner we were conversing on the seasons of the Year, & giving our different opinions of which of the Seasons we each thought most agreeable: M^{rs} Carter chose the Months of October, November & December, her reasons were, that we are always most sensible of pleasure when it succeeds Anxiety & Pain; therefore because these months immediately follow those in which there is usually Thunder & Lightning & intense Heat, She thinks them most pleasant: The Colonel agreed with her as to the Months but gave a different Reason; He supposes that in these Months the Air is more uniform and settled than at any other so long time in the year: I preferr'd May, June, and July, because our Bodies at that Season are generally sprightly, vigorous and healthy, and the world around us is beautiful & growing to necessary perfection. Miss Prissy & Miss Nancy were on my side.

M^{rs} Carter told the Colonel that he must not think her settled (for they have been for a long time from this place in the City *Williamsburg* and only left it about a year and a half ago) till he made her a park and stock'd it; while these and many other things were saying, I was surprized at a Remark which Miss Prissy made, "Why Mama says she, you plan and talk of these things as tho' you should never die"!

SATURDAY January 1. 1774.

Another year is gone! Last New years Day I had not the most remote expectation of being now here in *Virginia*! Perhaps by the next I shall have made a longer and more important Remove, from this to the World of Spirits!

It is well worth the while, for the better improving of our time to come to recollect and reflect upon the Time which we have spent; The Season seems to require it; it will give entertainment at least, perhaps much substantial pleasure too, to be able to make with a considerable degree of certainty a review of the general course of our Actions in the course of a year. This shall be my employment, when I shall have suitable time for the fixing & laying my thoughts together —

In the mean time I observe that the Day is most pleasant, the wind is West, not fresh; the air is void of clouds, but near the Earth is smoky; the Ground is clear of Frost and settled, what can be finer? M^r Carter Miss Prissy and myself were to have rode out for an Exercise at twelve, but we were prevented by the coming of a Gentleman, D^r *Fantleroy*, to whom M^r Carter introduced me —

After Dinner was finished which was about four o-Clock, Miss Prissy and Myself, together with a Servant (for M^r Carter would not trust us alone he said) rode on Horse-Back to M^r Turburvilles,¹ about three quarters of a Mile distance; It is the first time I have been there, the House is near, & in Sight, and the families intimate. I rode my Horse for the first time since his misfortune. When we returned about Candle-light, we found M^{rs} Carter in the yard seeing to the Roosting of her Poultry; and the Colonel in the Parlour tuning his Guitar.

Sunday 2.

The weather warm and Damp — The Family rode to Church to-day and are to dine out. M^r Carter

¹ John Turberville of Hickory Hill.

at my request, gave me the Keys of his Book-Cases and allowed me to spend the Day alone in his Library.

The place seems suitable for Study, & the Day ought to be spent in serious contemplation; therefore, as I proposed yesterday, I shall collect together and write down what I have been doing in the last Year. But will my Life bear the review? Can I look upon my Actions and not Blush! And shall I be no less careful, or have no better success, in the prosecution of my Duty the Year to come, if I shall be kept alive to the Close of it? —

In the beginning of y^e last year I was in Deerfield, in Cumberland County, New-Jersey, with the Rev^d M^r Green; Under him I studied the Hebrew-Language and Divinity. I left the college the last of September 1772. After having settled my business at Home, I entered upon the Study of Divinity with the Rev^d Andrew Hunter;¹ I was with him about a Month, and on the first of December I went to M^r Green with a design to acquaint myself with the Hebrew Tongue; he put me to the Grammar, which I learned through, and read some Chapters in the Psalter in the Course of the Winter: In Divinity, he advised me to read Ridgeleys body of Divinity for a System: And he gave me several separate treatises on Repentance, Regeneration, Faith, &c, & towards spring gave me subjects to consider in the Sermon-way, Yet how barren am I still? It is an arduous task to bring the Mind to close application: & still greater to lay up and retain useful Knowledge. I continued with M^r Green & pursued my studies, I hope with some Success till August 1773, when I was solicited by D^r Witherspoon

¹ Andrew Hunter, senior. See page 21, n. 1.

to go into Virginia & teach in a Gentlemans Family—— The offer seem'd profitable; I was encouraged by the Dr and was to have his Recommendation——I had likewise myself a strong inclination to go —— Yet I was in great Doubt, & Wholly undetermined for some Weeks, because many of my friends, and some of my near Relations opposed my leaving Home, and all seem'd utterly unwilling to advise to go —— It is time, according to the Course of my Life they said that I was settling to some constant Employment, and they told me I ought especially to enter with as great speed as convenient into that plan of Life for which I have in particular had my Education —— That Virginia is sickly —— That the People there are profane, and exceeding wicked —— That I shall read there no Calvinistic Books, nor hear any Presbyterian Sermons —— That I must keep much Company, and therefore spend as much, very probably much more Money than my Salary —— These considerations unsettled for a while my mind —— On the other hand I proposed to myself the following advantages by going —— A longer opportunity for Study than my friends would willingly allow me If I should remain at home —— A more general acquaintance with the manners of Mankind; and a better Knowledge of the Soil, & Commerce of these neighboring Provinces —— And a more perfect acquaintance with the Doctrines, & method of Worship in the established Church in the Colonies, & especially with the Conduct of the Clergy, of which there have been so many bad reports —— All these however when I had laid them together, seem'd to overbear the others, so that I determined at last to break through and go! —— Here now I am in a strange Province; But I am under no more nor stronger temptations to any kind of vice, perhaps

not so great as at Cohansie.— unless sometimes when I am solicited to dance I am forc'd to blush, for my Inability — I have the opportunity of living with Credit perfectly retired — in a well regulated family — With a man of Sense — May God help me to walk in his fear & Glorify his name!

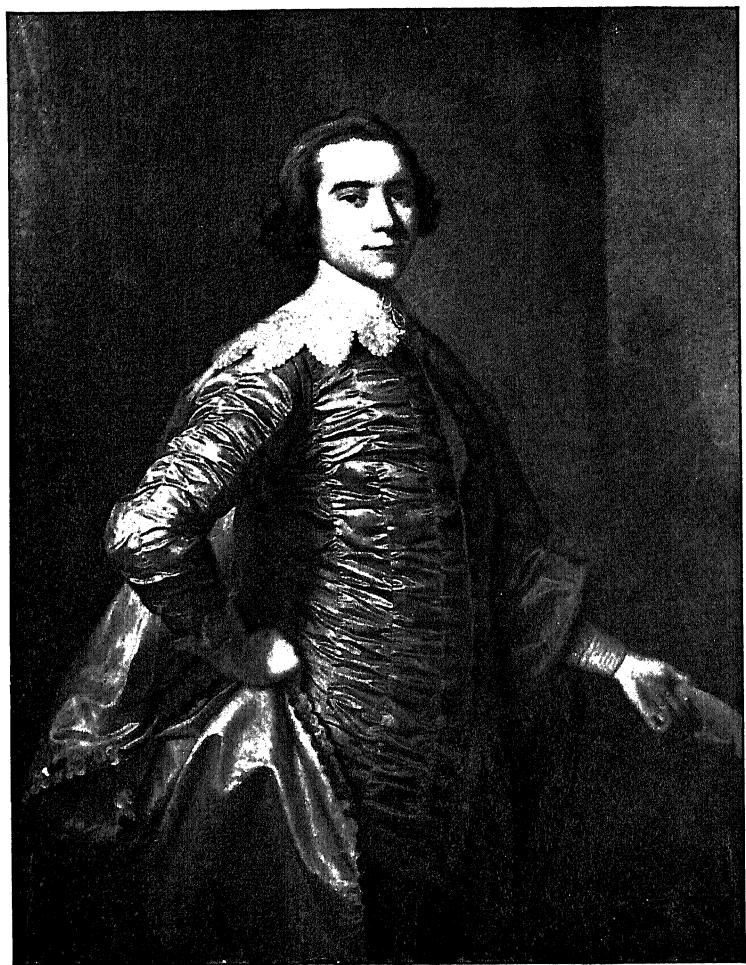
Monday 3d.

Last Evening, by Miss Prissy, I was complimented with an Invitation from M^r *Turburville* to Dine with Him tomorrow — Squire *Lee*¹ is as Miss Prissy told me, preparing to make a splendid *Ball*, which is to last four or five Days; we are to be invited! — But I must stay at Home and read *Salust.* — M^r Carter is at Richmond-Court, which is held monthly here in every County. In the Evening M^r Warden, a young Scotch Lawyer came home with him. I spent the Evening in the Parlour — After Supper when I was call'd upon for my Tost I mentioned with Pleasure Miss *Betsy Beaty*.

Tuesday 4.

Rose by eight — M^r *Warden* breakfasted with us. Miss Prissy before Breakfast, as it is her practising Day, gave us sundry Tunes on the *Forte Piano*. I kept the children while twelve then as we were to dine out, I dismissed them till morning, and prepar'd to ride — M^{rs} Carter, Miss Sylla, and Miss Betsy rode in the Chariot, and got off about half after twelve with three waiting men — M^r. Carter, Ben, and myself,

¹ Richard Lee of Lee Hall, Westmoreland County (commonly called "Squire" Lee), who represented that county in the General Assembly of Virginia, almost continuously from 1757 to 1795. (*Am. Hist. Review* V. 5, No. 2, 301 n. 1.)



ROBERT CARTER — THE COUNCILLOR
Portrait by Reynolds

(From *Some Colonial Mansions* by Thomas Allen Glenn)

waited, & left Home by half after one, we rode on Horse back, and waited on ourselves — It was two o-Clock when we got to M^r Turburvilles¹ where we were to dine — We found there two Gentlemen, with their Wives, and one of them had also a Son & Daughter M^r Booth came also in a short time after us; So that there dined to day with M^r Turburville to day besides his usual Family thirteen Persons. — And if I mention the Waiting Men With the Carriages they were twenty. We had an elegant Dinner, but it did not in any thing exceed what is every day at M^r *Carters* Table.

— We all returned Home before Dark — In the Evening the Colonel is busy in transposing Music, I have not been at any house since I left Home, which, from the appearance of its Situation, and the Economy of the Family, or any other apparent Convenience, I would so soon choose to reside in as a Tutor, as the one in which it is my lot to be placed — The Family is most agreeable! M^r Carter is sensible judicious, much given to retirement & Study; his Company, and conversation are always profitable — His main Studies are *Law & Music*, the latter of which seems to be his darling Amusement — It seem to nourish, as well as entertain his mind! And to be sure he has a nice well judging Ear, and has made great advances in the Theory, and Practice of music. —

M^{rs} *Carter* is prudent, always cheerful, never without Something pleasant, a remarkable Economist, perfectly acquainted (in my Opinion) with the good-management of Children, intirely free from all foolish and unnecessary fondness, and is also well acquainted (for She has always been used) with the formality and Cere-

¹ John Turberville (1737-1799) of Hickory Hill. His wife was Martha (Corbin) Turberville.

mony which we find commonly in high Life — Ben,¹ the eldest, is a youth of genius: of a warm impetuous Disposition; desirous of acquiring Knowledge, docile, vastly inquisitive & curious in mercantile and mechanical Matters, is very fond of Horses, and takes great pleasure in exercising them — Bob, the other Brother, is By no means destitute of capacity, As Mr. Marshal who was his last Tutor has asserted, & many now suppose: He is extremely volatile & unsettled in his temper, which makes it almost wholly impossible to fix him for any time to the same thing — On which account he has made but very little advancement in any one Branch of Study, and this is attributed to Barrenness of Genius — He is slovenly, clumsy, very fond of Shooting, of Dogs, of Horses, But a very stiff untoward *Rider*, good natur'd, pleased with the Society of persons much below his family, and Estate, and tho' quick and wrathful in his temper, yet he is soon moderated, & easily subdued — Harry the Nephew, is rather stoical, sullen, or saturnine in his make. He is obstinate, tho' Steady, and makes a slow uniform advance in his Learning, he is vastly kind to me, but in particular to my Horse, of his health or Indisposition.

Miss *Priscilla*, the eldest Daughter about 16, is steady, studious, docile, quick of apprehension, and makes good progress in what She undertakes, if I could with propriety continue in the Family, I should require no stronger Inducement than the Satisfaction I should receive by seeing this young Lady become perfectly acquainted with anything I propose so soon as I communicate it to her, but the situation of my affairs makes it out of my power to stay longer than a year; She is small of her age, has a mild winning Presence, a

¹ For a list of the children of Councillor Carter, see p. 70, note 3.

sweet obliging Temper, never swears, which is here a distinguished virtue, dances finely, plays well on key'd Instruments, and is on the whole in the first Class of the female Sex.

Nancy the Second, is not without some few of those qualities which are by some (I think with great ill nature, and with little or no truth) said to belong intirely to the fair Sex. I mean great curiosity, Eagerness for superiority, Ardor in friendship, But bitterness and rage where there is enmity — She is not constant in her disposition, nor diligent nor attentive to her business — But She has her excellencies, She is cheerful, tender in her temper, easily managed by persuasion, & is never without what seems to have been a common Gift of Heaven, to the *fair-Sex*, the “*Copia Verborum*”, or readiness of Expression! — She is only beginning to play the *Guitar*, She understands the Notes well, & is a graceful Dancer.

Fanny next, is in her Person, according to my Judgment, the Flower in the Family — She has a strong resemblance of her *Mama* who is an elegant, beautiful Woman — Miss Fanny seems to have a remarkable Sedateness, & simplicity in her countenance, which is always rather cheerful than melancholy; She has nothing with which we can find Fault in her Person, but has something in the Features of her Face which insensibly pleases us, & always when She draws our Attention, & much more because there seems to be for every agreeable Feature a correspondent Action which improves & adorns it.

Betsy next is young, quiet, and obedient.

Harriot is bold, fearless, noisy and lawless; always merry, almost never displeased; She seems to have a Heart easily moved by the force of Music; She has

learned many Tunes & can strike any Note, or Succession of Notes perfectly with the Flute or Harpsichord, and is never wearied with the sound of Music either vocal or *Instrumental*.

These are the persons who are at present under my direction, & whose general character I have very imperfectly attempted to describe.

Wednesday 5.

Rose at Seven. The morning very stormy. *Bob* & *Nancy* before Beakfast had a quarrel — *Bob* called *Nancy* a Lyar; *Nancy* upbraided *Bob*, on the other Hand, with being often flog'd by their Papa; often by the Master in College; that he had stol'n Rum, & had got drunk; & that he used to run away &c — These Reproaches when they were set off with Miss *Nancys* truly feminine address, so violently exasperated *Bob* that he struck her in his Rage — I was at the time in my Chamber; when I enter'd the Room each began with loud and heavy complaints, I put them off however with sharp admonitions for better Behaviour.

The morning was so extremely stormy that I declin'd going to Breakfast — All the others went my Breakfast was sent over — Immediately after Breakfast *Ben* came over with a Message from Mr *Carter*, that he desired me to correct *Bob* severely immediately — *Bob* when I went into School set quiet in the corner, & looked sullen, and patient; I gave some orders to the Children and went to my Room, — I sent for *Bob* — He came crying — I told him his Father's Message; he confess'd himself guilty — I sent him to call up *Harry* — He came — I talked with them both a long Time recommended Diligence, & good Behaviour, but concluded by observing that I

was obliged to comply with Mr Carters request; I sent *Harry* therefore for some Whips — *Bob* and poor I remained trembling in the chamber (for *Bob* was not more uneasy than I it being the first attempt of the kind I have ever made — The Whips came! — I ordered *Bob* to strip! — He desired me to whip Him in his hand in Tears — I told him no — He then patiently, & with great deliberation took off his Coat and laid it by — I took him by the hand and gave him four or five smart twigs; he cring'd, & bawld & promis'd — I repeated then about eight more, & demanded and got immediately his solemn promise for peace among the children, & Good Behaviour in general — I then sent him down — He conducts himself through this day with great Humility, & unusual diligence, it will be fine if it continues. At noon I went over to Dinner, but it was storming, & continues so bad that I choose rather to go without Supper than venture out in the Storm.

Thursday 6.

To Day about twelve *Bob & Prissy & Nancy* went in the Chariot to Stratford¹, to attend the Dancing-School — Mr Taylor, the Colonels principal Overseer dined with us — After School in the Evening, I sat with *Betsy & Fanny* while they sung me many songs, When they had done I waited on them Home, & spent the Evening with Mr. & Mrs Carter.

¹ The famous old Stratford mansion, at this time occupied by Philip Ludwell Lee, is noted as the birthplace of genius and the headquarters of the fashion and nobility of the Old Dominion. It is said to have been built about 1730, for President Thomas Lee, by Queen Caroline, from her privy purse, upon his having suffered a loss by fire. See Meade's *The Lee Family*, pp. 59-62; also Lee's *Lee of Virginia*, pp. 114-120.

Fryday 7.

The morning cold, muddy and drisly — Our School seems still, and vacant. *Betsy & Fanny* at their Leisure are constantly knitting with small smoth stiff straws, in imitation of their Sister *Sylla*, who knits sometimes. The Colonel told me last Evening that he proposes to make the vacant End of our School-Room, where D^r Frank lived a Concert-Room, to hold all his instruments of Music — As he proposes to bring up from *Williamsburg* his *Organ*, & to remove the *Harpsichord*, *Harmonica*, *Forte-piano*, *Guittar*, *Violin*, & *German-Flutes*, & make it a place for Practice, as well as Entertainment.

This afternoon *Dennis*, a Boy of about twelve years old, one of the Waiters at Table, as he was standing in the front Door which is vastly huge & heavy; the Door flew up, and drew off the Skin & Flesh from his middle Finger caught between, took off the first Joint, and left the Bone of the greater part of the Rest of the Finger naked.

Saturday 8.

Catechised the Children, and dismissed them about ten. The morning pleasant — Rode before Dinner to M^r Blains Store — Was introduced to D^r *Thompson*; M^r *Balantine*, M^r *Carr* a young Scotch-Man Clerk, to M^r Blain; dined with M^r Blain, Parson *Smith*, his Wife, & her Sister were there — Colonel Washington,¹ his Wife, & their Daughter Miss Jenny a young Lady of few words, a sanguine Countenance, and as to her Size, something below what Ladies call elegant; neat but not *flashy* in her Dress; Some of her Dress I admired

¹ John Augustine Washington of Bushfield. Miss Jenny subsequently married Col. William Augustine Washington, a cousin.

because I have seen *Laura* in the like, y(et) it strongly shewed me that it is not Dress alone that I admire in Her. All these had been at a Widding in the country and were returning——In D^r *Thomsons* Room there was hanging against the Wall a Skeleton!——Balantine, either to shew himself a true full-blooded Buck, or out of mere wantonness & pastime turned the Bones (as they were fixed together with Wires) into many improper and indecent postures; but this officious industry met with such reception from the company as it Justly merited, and as I wish'd might happen; for they gave visible signs of their contempt of his Behaviour——About Six in the Evening the Chariot returned with *Bob*, Miss *Prissy* & *Nancy* from the Dance at *Stratford*——They brought News as follows: Miss *Prissy* told us, that they had an elegant Dance on the Whole; that Colonel *Philip Lee*, where they met to Dance, was on Friday, at the Wedding of which I made mention just now; M^r *Christian* the Master danced several Minuets, prodigiously beautiful; that Captain *Grigg* (Captain of an English Ship) danced a Minuet with her; that he hobbled most dolefully, & that the whole Assembly laughed——*Bob* told us that there was a race between M^r——And Colonels Horses——that they run a Mile, & that *Dottrell* belonging to M^r——won the Race;——*Bob* told me in private, after we were alone in my Room, that Colonel *Lee* took an Opportunity, & asked him in the Hearing of a large company at Supper, what sort of *Fellow* he is whom your *Papa* has provided for your *Tutor*——*Bob* told me that for answer he Informed him I was good and agreeable——That Miss *Jenny Corbin*, (a young Lady with whom I have had the greatest Opportunity of being acquainted, of any young Lady in Virginia) gave him so favourable an Account

of my Behaviour, that he was pleased to say He should be glad to see me at his House, and of my company — But after having heard this much, I shall esteem myself pardonable, & shall always think it proper to refuse without thanks his warmest Invitations; and will plead for my excuse nothing else than mere inclination.

In the Evening about seven o'Clock it snowed exceeding fast til Eight when it ceased, it being the second Snow we had this winter here. At Supper we had much conversation about the Dance.

M^{rs} Carter & myself sat while ten and the Colonel read Philosophy.

Sunday 9.

The Morning very cold — None from our Family went to church; *Bob* beg'd of me to let him go, I refused him; he then asked to go and dine with M^r *Turburville*, I gave him no liberty. — I wrote to-Day a letter to *Laura*, I wish it *speed & Success* — I wrote also a letter to M^r Bryan in Baltimore; Another to the Gentleman who keeps the "Fountain Inn" in *Baltimore*; & one to D^r *John Beatty*¹ — *Bob* returned in the Evening after having stole away and spent the day at M^r *Turburvill's* with a Note to his Papa from Squire *Lee*²,

¹ Dr. John Beatty, brother of Elizabeth who was afterwards the wife of Philip Fithian, graduated at Princeton College, 1769, being in the first class under the presidency of Dr. Witherspoon (1768), and a classmate of Samuel Stanhope Smith who succeeded Dr. Witherspoon. He served with distinction in the War of the Revolution; was appointed successor to Elias Boudinot (1778) as Commissary General of prisoners, with the rank of Major; Delegate to the Continental Congress, 1783-'85; and elected Secretary of State, (N. J.) 1795, which office he held until 1805. In 1804 he laid the corner-stone of the bridge over the Delaware, at Trenton, which is the present structure, and which was in those days considered a marvel of engineering skill. Dr. Beatty was, from 1785-1802, a Trustee of the College of New Jersey.

² Richard Lee of Lee Hall.

in which Mr Carter & his Family are invited to the Ball at his House on Monday the 17th Instant. But I must stay alone.

Monday 10th.

The Morning very cold — Dined with us to-day Mr *Sanford* a Captain of a Sloop which trades out of *Potowmack* to *Norfolk* — I wrote out some Exercises for *Bob* & *Harry* — In the evening the Colonel began with a small Still to distill some Brandy from a Liquor made of Pisimmonds. I set Ben this Evening to writing. I likewise gave *Catalines* Speech in *Salust* to commit to memory in Latin, which he is to pronounce Extempore. In the Evening I borrowed of *Ben Carter* 15/. — I have plenty of Money with me, but it is in Bills of Philadelphia currency & will not pass at all here.

Tuesday 11.

The morning very cold — As cold I think, and the Frost seems to be as intense & powerful as I have ever known it either at Cohansie or Princeton. This morning I put Ben to construe some Greek, he has yet no Testament, I gave him therefore Esops Fables in Greek, and Latin. I also took out of the Library, and gave him to read Gordon, upon Geography. Ben seem'd scared with his Greek Lesson, he swore, & wished for Homer that he might kick Him, as he had been told Homer invented Greek.

Wednesday 12.

I gave Sam Mr Carters Barber, for shaving & dressing me, & for mending my Shoes, two pisterenes, which pass here for half a Crown — The morning is serene, pleasant, but cold yet. Miss *Hariot* this morning being over curious tasted some Mercury Mixture in Mr *Ran-*

dolph's Room, it made her very sick; I was frightened, the family was frightened! She puked, and threw it off her Stomach, & was soon relieved.

I gave *Martha* who makes my Bed, for a Christmas Box, a *Bit*, which is a pisterene cut into two equal parts — I gave to John also, who waits at Table & calls me to Supper a *Bit*. So that My whole Expence to-Day has been 3/9.

M^{rs} Carter invited me to Day to go to the Ball, I excused myself, & declined it.

Thursday 13.

M^r Cunningham came before noon to skait — At twelve we all went down to M^r Carters Millpond — none had skaits but M^r Cunningham — we diverted ourselves on the Ice til two, when we went up to Dinner — Immediately after Dinner M^r Carter Miss *Prissy* & *Nancy* rode out to M^r Lanes — M^r Cunningham staid the Night, *Prissy* play'd for us — she has since I came made great advances.

Fryday 14.

The morning very foggy, & warmer — I gave to Tom the Coach-man who cured my Horse two *pisterenes* & half a *Bit*, which is two & nine-pence 2/9. M^r Cunningham breakfasted with us — When I went into School there came a complaint from Miss *Sally Stanhope*¹ of *Bob* that he was rude, swore, & quarrell'd at Breakfast, poor untoward, unfortunate Boy he gives me great Trouble.

Saturday 15.

I rose at Seven — The morning fair the ground muddy — *Ben* asked me to ride with him to M^r Blains

¹ The housekeeper.

Store I chose rather to stay at Home — Ben is preparing for the approaching Ball — Bob urged me to let him go to M^r. Lees, but he is so unruly & mischievous when abroad that I was obliged to refuse him the liberty of going. I spent some hours to Day with the Girls when they were practising Music on the Guitar, & Forte-piano, Priscilla plays her tunes true and exceeding finely — In the Evening *Ben* returned from M^r. Blains — He told me the Store was thronged with company — Sup'd on chocolate, & hoe-Cake, so Called because baked on a Hoe before the fire — The Colonel and his Daughter busy at Music.

Sunday 16.

The morning frosty & cold — *Ben, Bob, Harry* & M^r. *Randolph* went to Church — I stay at Home; Read Pictete — I feel very desirous of seeing Home: of hearing good M^r. Hunter Preach, of seeing my dear Brothers & Sister; Indeed the very soil itself would be precious to me! — I am shut up in my chamber; I read a while, then walk to the North window, & look over Potowmack through Maryland towards Home; then throw myself down into my Chair again & console myself that I have every necessary & convenient Accommodation here, which I should have; nay much more than I should allow myself were I at Home. I am contented — This whole world is only a Point almost unnoticeable, when compared with the numerous *Systems* which compose the *universe*, & yet they all are under the particular Direction & Government of *Almighty God*; How insignificant therefore is it to me and how foolish to be uneasy, & solicitous whether I live in *Cohansie*, in *Princeton*, or in *Virginia*; Or in *America*, or in *Europe*, so long as I am still supported, & upheld by the Divine

Agency!— I am fully satisfied — Guide me, propitious Heaven! Help me to Glorify my God; to honor the holy Religion which I profess; &, If I shall be fitted, & introduced to the Ministry, may I still go on and be of advantage to my fellow Mortals!—Evening, The Boys are returned; *Bob* brings me the *parsons* Compliments; M^r *Cunninghams*; & that Miss Corbin enquired if I was well!— Bob also informed me that the *Parson*, M^r *Blain*, *Cunningham*, *Balantine*, & others are to come to Captain *Turburvilles* Mill-Pond to Skate before they go to the Ball.

Monday 17.

At Breakfast the Colonel gave orders to the Boys concerning their conduct this Day, & through the course of the Ball — He allows them to go; to stay all this Night; to bring him an Account of all the Company at the Ball; & to return to-morrow Evening — All the morning is spent in Dressing.—M^r Carter & M^{rs} Carter pressed me to go; But, mindful of my Promise when I left Home, I stay and enjoy myself in quiet. — I give the Children a Holiday to Day — I gave Dennis the Waiter half a Bit a Present — M^{rs} *Carter*, Miss *Prissy* & *Nancy* dressed splendidly set away from Home at two.

Teusday 18.

M^{rs} *Carter*, & the young Ladies came Home last Night from the Ball,¹ & brought with them M^{rs} *Lane*, they tell us there were upwards of Seventy at the Ball; forty-one Ladies; that the company was genteel; & that

¹ Given by Richard Lee of Lee Hall, Westmoreland County, commonly called "Squire" Lee, who was a member of the Virginia Assembly almost continuously from 1757-1795.

Colonel *Harry Lee*,¹ from *Dumfries*, & his Son *Harry* who was with me at College, were also there; M^{rs} Carter made this an argument, and it was a strong one indeed, that to-day I must dress & go with her to the Ball — She added also that She desired my Company in the Evening when she should come Home as it would be late — After considering a while I consented to go, & was dressed — we set away from M^r Carters at two; M^{rs} Carter & the young Ladies in the Chariot, M^{rs} Lane in a Chair, & myself on Horseback — As soon as I had handed the Ladies out, I was saluted by Parson *Smith*; I was introduced into a small Room where a number of Gentlemen were playing Cards (the first game I have seen since I left Home) to lay off my Boots Riding-Coat &c. — Next I was directed into the Dining-Room to see young Mr. *Lee*;² He introduced me to his Father — With them I conversed til Dinner, which came in at half after four. The Ladies dined first, when some Good Order was preserved; when they rose, each nimblest Fellow dined first — The Dinner was as elegant as could be well expected when so great an Assem-

² Lieut. Col. Henry Lee (1729-1787) of Leesylvania, Prince William County, was a brother of "Squire" Lee, the host, and a first cousin of Richard Henry Lee; was a member of the House of Burgesses and took an active part in all the stirring events of the time. His son Henry (1756-1818) was graduated from Princeton College in 1773 and afterwards became the celebrated cavalry leader of the Revolution under the sobriquet of "Light Horse Harry." Henry Lee, Jr.'s first wife was the "Divine Matilda," daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee. By his second, Ann, daughter of Charles Carter of Shirley, he had six children of whom the best known is Gen. Robert E. Lee. Henry Lee, Jr. was governor of Virginia 1792-1795, and member of Congress; while there he pronounced his great eulogy on Washington, in which he originated the famous phrase, "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his country-men." Gen. Henry Lee died at Cumberland Island, Georgia, the home of his old commander General Greene, on the 25th of March, 1818.

¹ i. e. Henry Lee, Jr.

bly were to be kept for so long a time.—For Drink, there was several sorts of Wine, good Lemon Punch, Toddy, Cyder, Porter &c.—About Seven the Ladies & Gentlemen begun to dance in the Ball-Room — first Minuets one Round; Second Giggs; third Reels; And last of All Country-Dances; tho' they struck several Marches occasionally — The Music was a French-Horn and two Violins — The Ladies were Dressed Gay, and splendid, & when dancing, their Skirts & Brocades rustled and trailed behind them! — But all did not join in the Dance for there were parties in Rooms made up, some at Cards; some drinking for Pleasure; some toasting the Sons of america; some singing “Liberty Songs” as they call'd them, in which six, eight, ten or more would put their Heads near together and roar, & for the most part as unharmonious as an affronted — Among the first of the Vociferators was a young Scotch-Man, M^r *Jack Cunningham*; he was nimis bibendo appotus; noisy, droll, waggish, yet civil in his way & wholly inoffensive — I was solicited to dance by several, Captain Chelton, Colonel Lee, Harry Lee, and others; But George Lee,¹ with great Rudeness as tho' half drunk, asked me why I would come to the Ball & neither dance nor play Cards? I answered him shortly, (for his Impudence moved my resentment) that my Invitation to the Ball would Justify my Presence; & that he was ill qualified to direct my Behaviour who made so indifferent a Figure himself — Parson Smiths, & Parson Gibberns Wives danced, but I saw neither of the Clergymen dance or game — At Eleven M^{rs} Carter call'd upon me to go, I listened with gladness

¹ Probably either George Fairfax Lee, son of George Lee of Mt. Pleasant, or George Lee, son of Col. Thomas Ludwell Lee of Bellevue. (*Am. Hist. Review* V. 5, No. 2, 301.)

to the summons & with M^{rs} Lane in the Chariot we rode Home, the Evening sharp and cold! — I handed the Ladies out, waited on them to a warm Fire, then ran over to my own Room, which was warm and had a good Fire; oh how welcome! Better this than to be at the Ball in some corner nodding, and awaked now & then with a midnight Yell! — In my Room by half after twelve; & exceeding happy that I could break away with Reputation.

Wednesday 19.

Rose at Nine while the Bell was ringing — Breakfasted at ten, M^r Carter and I alone, the Ladies yet in Bed — I gave the Children the third Holiday; *Bob Ben & Harry* are yet at the Dance — M^{rs} Carter declines going to Day, I took a Walk out before Dinner, & with my Pen-knife carved *Laura's* much admired Name, upon a smooth beautiful Beech-Tree — Towards Evening M^{rs} Lane left us and rode home — *Bob* came Home about six, but so sleepy that he is actually stupified!

Thursday 20.

Ben came Home late in the Night — This morning he looks fatigued out. We began to study to Day but all seem sleepy and dull. Dined with us to-day M^r Lee a Gentleman from Augusta County, who has lately been to the Settlements on Ohio. Evening I began some Verses on Miss Carter for a present at the approaching Valantine — But I drew the Picture from *Laura*.

Fryday 21.

All seem tolerably recruited this morning; we hear, the company left the Ball last Evening quite wearied

out; tho' the Colonel intreated them to stay the proposed Time.

To Day about twelve came to M^r *Carters* Captain *John Lee*,¹ a Gentleman who seems to copy the Character of *Addisons Will Wimble*. When I was on my way to this place I saw him up in the country at Stafford; he was then just sallying out on his Winters Visit, & has got now so far as here, he stays, as I am told about eight, or ten Weeks in the year at his own House, the remaining part he lives with his Waiting Man on his Friends.

Saturday 22.

Captain Lee with us to Day — The Weather cold; I sat in my Room all Day working at my Verses for Miss Carter.

Sunday 23.

None went to Church on account of Cold — Afternoon the Sun shone fair — I took my Horse & rode about a Mile and returned — Captain *Lee* left us this Day.

Monday 24.

Still very cold snows — Dined with us Colonel *Frank L. Lee*,² & Colonel *Harrison* of Maryland — Miss *Nancy* unwell of a cold. — There are great Professions

¹ Probably Major John Lee of Orange County, Va., third son of Hancock Lee & Mary Willis, his wife, and a distant cousin of the Lees of Westmoreland.

² Francis Lightfoot Lee, fourth son of President Thomas Lee, and brother of Richard Henry, was born at Stratford, October 14th, 1734. Elected to the House of Burgesses for Loudon County in 1765. Married (1772) Rebecca, daughter of Colonel John Tayloe, of Mt. Airy, and established his residence at "Menokin," in Richmond County, which he represented in the House of Burgesses. He was elected delegate to the Continental Congress, 1775-1779. He died at Menokin, during the winter of 1797.

of Liberty here expressed in Songs Toasts, &c. Yesterday News came of the Arrival of Ships with Tea; into *Boston, New-york, Philadelphia*, & of the New-Yorkers burning the House of his Excellency Governor *Tryon*.¹ for having said that, if orders concerning the Tea had been transmitted to him he would have landed it tho' under the mouths of the Cannon!—Gentlemen here in general applaud & honour our Northern Colonies for so manly, & patriotic Resistance!

Teusday 25.

Still sharp & cold — Miss Nancy much indisposed with a sore throat — Dined with us Mr. Cunningham. Toasts the *King, Queen, Governor*,² & *Colonel*, of *Virginia*. Northern Sons of Liberty, & a good price for our commodities—This Day the Person who carried my Letters to Baltimore returned without any Letters or Intelligence.

Wednesday 26.

The weather this morning seems to have moderated — Miss *Nancy* is poorly but better — In the Evening I ran a Foot Race with Ben & Harry for Exercise, & a prize of ten Apples to the winner, We ran from the School-House round the stable, & Kitchen & Great-House which Distance is about 70 Rod — I came out first about One Rod; but almost wholly spent; I went

¹ William Tryon, Governor of New York 1771-1778, was thoroughly detested by the patriots for his inhumanity. His house was destroyed by fire at midnight, December 29th, 1773, together with all of his personal effects. In consideration of this misfortune the Assembly presented him \$20,000. Gov. Tryon left for England in April, 1774, and on his departure was honored with addresses and public dinners by the Royallists, and Kings College (now Columbia University) conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.

² John Murray, Earl of Dunmore and a descendant of the Stuarts, Governor of Virginia from 1771 until the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775.

to my Chamber and lay down, sick, fainty, & quite distressed, I puked several times; after having rested a while, however, I revived and went well to Supper, & Spend the Evening in Writing. At Supper from the conversation I learned that the slaves in this Colony never are married, their Lords thinking them improper Subjects for so valuable an Institution.

Thursday 27.

The morning mild Serene and moderate — The Colonel is making preparations for a Journey to *Anapolis*, where he Designs next month. In the Evening, (for here they call the time between Dinner and daylight-End Evening,) He & M^{rs} Carter shewed me their House; the original Design, the present form; & what is yet to be done — Miss *Nancy* came down stairs to Day.

Fryday 28.

Snows this morning Briskly — Ben is in a great fever lest the Weather shall stop him from a Ride he has alloted for to-morrow — At twelve the Snow ceased, Depth about five Inches — I corrected *Harry* for the first time to-day for expressing himself indecently to *Prissy*.

Saturday 29.

Ben is preparing himself to go out — while we were dining about three it began to Snow briskly — After Dinner when I went over to my Room I was very much surprised to find my Room full of Smoke & Flame! — A kind Providence only prevented the total Loss of our School-House & all its Furniture, & our own Clothes Books &c! — A Coal of Fire had by accident (as the Hearth is very narrow) fall'n on the

floor, it took fire, & when I entered it was burning rapidly — It had burst three Boards about eight Inches from the Hearth, & most certainly in a short time would have been inextinguishable — I put it out, however, speedily, & had all the fire removed — The Weather is as wintry here in every Respect as I have ever known it in New Jersey — M^r Carter has a Cart & three pair of Oxen which every Day bring in four Loads of Wood, Sunday excepted, & yet these very severe Days we have none to spare; And indeed I do not wonder, for in the *Great House*, *School House*, *Kitchen*, &c. there are twenty-Eight steady fires! & most of these are very Large! — After Supper, when all had retired but M^{rs} Carter, M^r Carter & Myself, the Conversation being on serious Matters, M^r Carter observed that he much dislikes the common method of making Burying Yards round Churches, & having them almost open to every Beast — He would have them at some small distance from the Church, neatly and strongly enclosed, and the Graves kept up decent, & plain, but would have no splendid, nor magnificent Monument, nor even stone to say “*Hic jacet*”. — He told us he proposes to make his own Coffin & use it for a chest til its proper use shall be required — That no Stone, nor Inscription be put over him — And that he would choose to be laid under a shady Tree where he might be undisturbed & sleep in peace & obscurity. — He told us, that with his own hands he planted, and is with great diligence raising a *Catalpa*-Tree at the head of his Father¹ who lies in his Garden.

M^{rs} Carter beg'd that She might have a Stone, with this only for a Monument, “*Here lies Ann Tasker Car-*

¹ Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, son of “*King*” Carter, died about 1732. The catalpa is still standing (1900) and marks the spot.

ter.”¹ with these things for my consideration I left them about ten and went to my cold Room, & was hurried soon to Bed; Not however without reflecting on the importance of our preparation for this great Change!

Sunday 30.

Very stormy this morning with Rain and Hail which instantly freezes; the trees hang bending with Ice, & the ways are all glassy & slippery — None think of going to Church this day — M^{rs} Carter and I after Breakfast had a long conversation on religious affairs — Particularly on differing Denominations of Protestants — She thinks the Religion of the established Church without Exception the best of any invented or practised in the world, & indeed she converses with great propriety on these things, & discovers her very extensive Knowledge; She allows the Difference between the Church, & Presbyterianism to be only exceeding small, & wishes they were both intirely united! Through this whole Day it storms but the Evening is terrible! almost an Inundation of Rain; The wind violent at North-East; The Snow, Hail, and Rain freezing together on the Ground! This Evening the Negroes collected themselves into the School-Room, & began to play the *Fiddle*, & dance — I was in M^r Randolph’s Room; — I went among them, *Ben*, & *Harry* were of the company — *Harry* was dancing with his Coat off — I dispersed them however immediately.

Monday 31.

Excessive sloppy — Miss *Nancy* came to School to Day — I finished my verses which are to be presented as a Valantine to Miss *Prissy Carter*.

¹ Mrs. Carter (Frances Ann Tasker) was the daughter of Hon. Benjamin Tasker, of Maryland.

MRS. ROBERT CARTER

(From *Some Colonial Mansions* by Thomas Allen Glenn)



Teusday, February 1st, 1774.

Fair & mild but vastly muddy — About twelve Squire *Lee*¹ & young *Harry Lee*, who was a College-Fellow, came to see us, they staid while about five. The Toasts at Dinner were as usual — The Colonel & M^{rs} Carter seem Much pleased with Harry, & with his manner.

Wednesday 2.

The weather vastly fine. At twelve o-Clock the Colonel & Miss *Prissy* rode out for an airing — *Prissy* This day began Multiplication. We had also a large elegant Writing Table brought to us, so high that the Writers must stand.

Thursday 3.

Prissy, & Nancy practising music — We had last night Thunder, lightning, & a very great shower.

Fryday 4.

I put Ben this day into virgil — We had our Room mended & came into it — at twelve I rode out to M^r Taylors about two Miles, in again by Dinner-Time — Dined with us one M^{rs} Hut — This Evening, in the School-Room, which is below my Chamber, several Negroes & *Ben*, & *Harry* are playing on a *Banjo* & dancing.

Saturday 5.

I spent the morning in my Room, *Ben* & *Bob* are gone out. About twelve came on a visit M^r *Goodlett*, & *Sam^l. Fantleroy*; I spent the remainder of the day with

¹ "Squire" Richard Lee of Lee Hall, and his nephew Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry").

them —— At Dinner when call'd upon for a Toast I gave Miss *Sally Hollinshead*.

Mr Goodlett told me he has had an Invitation, to accept a School in *Leeds*, a town on the River Rapahan-nock, about 25 Miles from this up & across the Country.

Sunday 6.

I rode to Church Mr^s Carter & Miss Prissy & Nancy were out —— Mr Smith gave us a Sermon 14 Minutes long on Charity —— But poor Fellow he seem'd Cold as his Subject!

Mr Fantleroy, & Mr Goodlet dined with us and set off for Home as soon as we rose from Dinner —— This day two Negro Fellows the Gardiner & cooper, wrangled; & at last fought; It happened hard however for the Cooper, who is likely to lose one of his Eyes by that Diabolical Custom of gouging which is in common practise among those who fight here.

Evening Ben returned; he had been into North-umberland to see one Mr *Jones*. Mr Goodlett, to Day, shewed me a piece of his own performance, a paraphrase on part of the Book of Job, done in Lattin-Verse.

Monday 7.

The Day pleasant, & seems to have some appearance of Spring —— Mr Blain call'd this Afternoon, & told us that by a Letter he hears Lady *Dunmore* is arrived in New-York —— and that many good & wealthy Families arrived in the same Ship —— It is indeed amazing, & it will soon astonish the whole World, to consider the Rapidity of the growth of these Colonies.

At Supper, Mr Carter informed me it is his purpose to manufacture 30,000 Bushels of wheat in his New-Mill which is yet scarcely finished.

Tuesday 8.

Before Breakfast Nancy & Fanny had a Fight about a Shoe Brush which they both wanted — Fanny pull'd off her Shoe & threw at Nancy, which missed her and broke a pane of glass of our School Room. they then enter'd upon close scratching &c. which methods seem instinctive in Women. Harry happen'd to be present & afraid lest he should be brought in, ran and informed me — I made peace, but with many threats.

M^{rs} Carter has ordered the Gardener to sew Lettice, & plant Peas this Day in the Garden.

Wednesday 9.

The day very blustry & cold — I gave Prissy a Copy of Secretary-Hand, at her particular request.

Thursday 10.

We had the Virginia Gazette to day in which the accounts concerning the destroying the Tea at Boston are confirmed — & also an account of the Burning of the House of Governor Tryon. Dined with us Colonel *Frank Lee* : his Wife & Captain *John Lee*. Toasts after Dinner, the *King*, *Queen*, Absent Friends, Governor of Virginia, & his Lady just arrived, & Success to American Trade & Commerce.

Friday 11.

The Company staid all Night — at Breakfast the conversation was on a terrible Distemper which is in this County at present; & which in Maryland last year about this time carried off hundreds, and is call'd the "*putrid Quinsy*". M^r Carter has a man lying now dangerously ill of it.

What they do in the Disorder is, when the Inflam-

ation is first observed, bleeding; then give the *Bark* & *Salt-petre*, or *Nitre* and *Gargles* to cleanse the mouth.

Our company left us before dinner — Last night I took Bob to my Room, after having in the course of the Day corrected him thrice, & reasoned with him concerning the impropriety of his Behaviour; at the same time I acquainted him with my final resolution to send him over for correction every Day to his Papa's Study, which has so strong an Effect on him (as all the Children are in remarkable Subjection to their Parents) that he firmly promised to attend to my advice, & thro' this Day has been punctual to his word.

I spent the Evening with the Family to hear the music, For every evening Prissy & Nancy play the whole Evening for practice & besides every Week half of Teusday, Thursday & Saturday. We were informed that the *Carter* who goes with the Team is ill of the sore Throat!

Saturday 12.

After having dismissed the School I went over to M^r. Carters Study — We conversed on many things, & at length on the College of William & Mary¹ at *Williamsburg*. He informed me that it is in such confusion at present, and so badly directed, that he cannot send his Children with propriety there for Improvement & useful Education² — That he has known the Professors to play all Night at Cards in publick Houses in the City,

¹ Founded at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1693, upon the basis of a charter granted by King William and Queen Mary. At this date (1773) it was the richest college in America, but the Revolution deprived it of its main sources of income and destroyed part of its property.

² It was doubtless reasons such as these, and the prevalence of atheism at William and Mary College, that induced the father of James Madison to send him to Princeton.

and has often seen them drunken in the Street!— That the Charter of the College is vastly Extensive, and the yearly income sufficient to support a University being about 4.000 £ Sterling.—That the Necessary Expence of each Scholar yearly is only 15 £ Currency. Two of the officers of the Institution, M^r Bracken, & M^r Henly¹ Clergymen are at present engaged in a paper War published weekly in the Williamsburg Gazette's.

Miss Fanny quite unwell of a Cold with a pain in her Breast. Evening M^{rs} Carter complain'd of a sore throat; and *Ben* also, complains that his Throat is quite troublesome — M^r Randolph too is confin'd in his Room all day! We seem to be all sickning!

Sunday 13.

Things look better this morning M^{rs} Carter, & *Ben* seem relieved, M^r Randolph, & Fanny are better. The morning very blustry with wind & Snow — None go to Church from here to day — In my Room I read *Pictete*.

Monday 14.

M^r *Randolph* this Morning happens to be Miss *Nancy's Valentine*; & Miss *Prissy* mine, — The morning sharp & very cold.

Tuesday 15.

I have a call this morning from *Bob* & *Harry* for a

¹ John Bracken was from 1773 to 1818, minister of Bruton Church, Williamsburg; was made master of the grammar school at the college, and was president for two years, after the death of Bishop James Madison in 1812. Samuel Henley was professor of divinity and moral philosophy in the college, was a Tory and left Virginia in 1775. In England he wrote numerous pamphlets on archæological subjects, was the translator of Beckford's *Vathek*, and from 1805 to 1815 was principal of the East India College at Hertford. (*Am. Hist. Review* V. 5, No. 2, 303, n. 1.)

Holiday, for Shrove Teusday; I shall dismiss them at twelve o-Clock. I gave Miss Carter my Verses for her Valentine¹, Dined with us M^{rs} Ford. I finished reading the first, & began the Second Volume of *Pictete*.

Wednesday 16.

I happened last monday to offend *Prissy*, She retains her anger & seems peculiarly resentful!—*Ben* agreed for half a Bit a Week to play the Flute every Night, or read for me, twenty Minutes after I am in Bed.

Thursday 17.

Prissy seems much affronted; The cause was as follows Monday afternoon, by Chance I tapp'd her on the Head, & wholly in Jest; She seem'd vex'd, but Teusday morning which is her day for practice on the Forte-Piano, after Breakfast I desir'd her to walk over to the School, she refused, & gave for an Excuse that She must begin to play — Both these things laid together were the cause of her resentment.

Fryday 18.

The Weather pleasant and moderate — *Bob*, *Nancy*, & *Prissy*, are setting off this morning to the Dance, which is at M^r Washingtons.²

Saturday 19.

at Dinner we were conversing on Reading, among many remarks the Colonel observed that, He would

¹ This valentine, though preserved in one of the volumes of Fithian MSS., is too lengthy, pedantic, and uninteresting for publication.

² Colonel John Augustine Washington of Bushfield. The old dwelling house at Bushfield is still standing.

bet a Guinea that M^{rs} Carter reads more than the Parson of the parish! No panegyrick on the Gentleman?

M^r Christian the Dancing Master Came home with the young Ladies.

Sunday 20.

Last Evening the virginia News-papers came; but nothing from the Northward.

Rode to Nomini Church; Parson Smith read Prayers, but it was too Cold a Day to give us a Sermon; After Service M^r & M^{rs} Carter, the Parson, his wife & Sister; M^r Camel the Comptroler Ben, Bob, Miss Pierce Miss Sanford, and Myself were invited to Colonel Washingtons¹ to Dinner. His House has the most agreeable Situation, of any I have seen in Maryland or Virginia; the broad Potowmack, which they account between 7 and 8 Miles over, washes his Garden on the North, the River Nomini is within a stones throw on the West, a level open Country on the East; a Lane² of a mile & three quarters accurately measured, lies from the House South-East it has from the House the whole distance a uniform Descent, & at the Gate at the End of this Lane the Situation is just six feet lower than at the House — There are no Marshes near, which altogether make the place exceeding Description. The Roads are now miry & disagreeable.

¹ John Augustine Washington.

² It is told of a certain gentleman, a stranger in the land, who was driving, one misty morning in the olden day, to pay his respects to the master of Bushfield; that after toiling and splashing down this long lane, for upwards of a quarter of an hour, the road being awash and the ditches overflowing with the recent spring rains, at last unable to stand it any longer, he shouted out to the postillion, a servant of Col. Washington's "I say, fellow, how far out in the river does your unfortunate master live?"

Monday 21.

Prissy seems again reconciled — Miss *Stanhope* the Housekeeper is ill of a Rheumatism — They are beginning to work in the Garden with vigor, Dined with us Docter *Franks*.

Tuesday 22.

M^r: *Carter* rode to the County-Court. I read to day several chapters in the Greek testament. M^r: *Carter* has given orders to his Hands to rigg, & fit his Schooner a Vessel of about 40 Tons for Business. Docter *Franks* with us yet. M^{rs} *Carter* was taken ill last Evening & has not been out of her Chamber to Day. Miss *Stanhope* the Housekeeper is also confin'd to her Room with Rheumatic Pains.

Wednesday 23.

M^r: *Carter* has an invitation to dine at Lee-Hall to Day, which he accepts — before Dinner came in Miss *Corbin*, & Miss *Booth*; two young Ladies pretty well gone in what we call the Bloom of Life; M^r: *Carter* was out, M^{rs} *Carter* is ill, & Ben was not Drest; Bob & I therefore at Dinner must be Directors of the ceremonies at Table! But happily for me I have them at last all by heart — At five Bob and I had the Pleasure to walk home with them, (for they were on foot) to Assist them in Crossing the River *Nomini* which lies between us & M^r: *Turburville*'s. Evening M^{rs} *Carter* seems no better — Miss *Sally* came out of her Room.

Thursday 24.

Frogs croaked last Evening. This morning the Birds of several kinds are singing; and some presages of Spring seem visible. M^{rs} *Carter* continues no better,

A messenger is sent for Doctor *Jones*,¹ with orders, that if he is from Home to pursue him.— Mr *Gregory*, the Colonels Gardiner came this morning & began with Mr *Carters* two Fellows who have been in the Garden all winter — They planted this day the common Garden Peas.

The Colonel at Dinner gave Ben & I a Piece of Music to prepare on our Flutes, in which he is to perform the thorough Bass — Evening Mr^s Carter some better.

Fryday 25.

Mr^s Carter better — The Day pleasant — There is a report that the Jail-Fever, or Yellow or putrid Fever, is at one Mr Atwel's on potowmack, in this Country; that it was brought in a Ship which came lately with convict Servants; that two have already died, one this morning; & that many of Mr Atwels Slaves are infected!

Doctor Jones spent the Evening with us; He complimented *Ben*, *Bob*, & myself with an invitation to dine with him next Sunday.

Saturday 26.

Mr *Carter's* Merchant Mill begins to run to-day — She is calculated to manufacture 25,000 Bushels of Wheat a Year — I walked at twelve with the Colonel to view her; it is amazing to consider the work and Ingenuity — He told me his Bill for the material and work was 1450 £!

Ben to day Rode to Mr *Fantleroy's*. Evening the Colonel & I performed the *Sonata*. I had the Pleasure to hear the Colonel say that I have my part perfect.

¹ Dr. Walter Jones of Richmond County. See page 70, note 1.

Sunday 27.

I rode to day to Richmond Church, Parson Gibbern preached about 20 Minutes on the Text “ he that walketh uprightly walketh wisely ”—— this seems to be a polite part of the parish. —— After Sermon Ben & I rode to Docter *Jones's*; he was from home. M^{rs} Jones a young, Handsome, polite lady, received & entertained us exceeding civilly. —— On our return home, we called to see M^r Hamilton, who by accident was thrown from a Horse, & received a sad cut in his Face! he lies at M^r Lanes.

Monday 28.

M^{rs} Carter yet confined to her Room, but much better —— Prissy & I on good terms once more —— Breakfasted with us M^r Taylor. Ben determines to ask his Papa to-morrow for Liberty to go home with me in April. Evening we performed the Sonata I the first; Ben the second; & M^r Carter the thorough Bass on the *Forte-Piano*.

Teusday March 1st 1774.

By one of M^r Carters Sailors we heard this morning that the Fever mentioned some Days ago continues. Afternoon M^r Lane¹ a young Gentleman, formerly my acquaintance at Princeton came to see me; with one M^r Harison —— He stays all night.

Wednesday 2.

I gave my little family a Holiday, with an intention to ride with M^r Lane after Dinner —— We walked to the Mill, & about the works, but before twelve it began to rain, & prevented our going out —— M^{rs} Car-

¹ Joseph F. Lane of the Class of 1776, at Princeton College.

ter came out of her chamber & dined with us, & seems to be well over Illness.

M^r. Lane lives in Loudon County 20 Miles from Dumfries; & is to return to Princeton towards the close of this month.

Thursday 3.

Late last Evening the Packets came in: In the Pennsylvania Gazette¹ I saw that Docter Elmer² of my acquaintance in Jersey; & Docter Jones at whose House I dined Last Sunday are created members of the American Philosophical Society.³

In the virginia Papers there is an account of an Earthquake felt on monday the 21 ult. at *Williamsburg, Richmond, & Fredericksburg*—After Breakfast M^r. Lane left us, He was drest in black superfine broadcloth; Gold-laced hat; laced Ruffles; black Silk Stockings; & to his Broach on his Bosom he wore a Majors Badge inscrib'd "Virtute and Silentio" cut in a Golden Medal! Certainly he was fine! — M^{rs} Carter continues better. Evening we performed again in the several parts our Sonata — *Ben* mentioned to his Mama, as M^r. Lane's coming hindred his asking his *Papa* for his Consent to

¹ This was a semi-weekly newspaper, established at Philadelphia in 1728, by Samuel Keimer, who was succeeded by Benjamin Franklin as editor. Franklin quickly made it the most noted and valuable paper in the country, changing it to a weekly, however. He retired from its management in 1776. In 1845 the *Gazette* was merged in the *Daily North American*, which is still published.

² Dr. Jonathan Elmer of Cumberland County, New Jersey, was graduated in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania in 1771; was a medical inspector of the army during the Revolution, and in 1787, president of the State Medical Society. Elected to the U. S. Senate in 1789, he was one of those who voted for the establishment of the seat of government on the Potomac. He was a trustee of Princeton College, 1782-'95.

³ The American Philosophical Society was established at Philadelphia, in 1769.

go to Philadelphia. She seems to be not unwilling. Expence to Day for Paper a Bitt, or 7½d.

Fryday 4,

I gave the *Hostler* directions for preparing my Horse for the approaching expedition. In a Ship arrived last week in Potowmack M^r Carter received half a Dozen of the latest Gent. Magazines with several other new Books.

This day I wrote two Letters to be forwarded by M^r Lane, one to a young Lady in Philadelphia the other to my Sister.

No news of beautiful *Laura*; perhaps I may say of her, to myself: Quid insanis, Philippe, tua lura *Laura*, — Alium — secuta est! Keep her, kind Heaven, & in her Friendship make me happy! After School at Evening, on account of some difference about the Key of the School-Room Ben gave Harry a smart, but just correction; I kept in my Room that I might be wholly unconcerned in the matter.

There came in about eight o-Clock a man very drunk, & grew exceeding noisy & troublesome, & as the Evening was cold & stormy, M^r Carter thought it improper to send him away; he was therefore ordered into the Kitchen, to stay the Night: Him Bob soon after persuaded to the School-house; I soon heard from my Room the noise & guesed immediately the Cause. I waited however 'til half after ten, when all seemed silent; I then took a candle & went into the School-Room, And before the Fire Bob had brought a matt, & Several Blankets, & was himself in a sound sleep covered with the Blankets on the same Matt between the drunken Man, & a Negro Fellow, his Papa's Postilion! I mention this as one Example among

a thousand to shew the very particular Taste of this Boy! — I could mention another which would illustrate what I have said of his passion for Horses when I gave a Scetch of his character. *Ben* has a very sightly young mare which he has in keeping for our intended Journey; this morning *Bob* agreed to give his Brother a Pisterene, & a rich Tortoise-Shell Handled Knife bound elegantly with Silver, only for Liberty to ride this Mare every day to Water, until his Brother sets away, & would consent to be limited as to the Gait he should use in Riding —

I borrowed the late Magazines & read them in my Leisure. I am daily more charmed & astonished with *M^{rs} Carter*. I think indeed she is to be placed in the place with Ladies of the first Degree.

Saturday 5.

Very stormy this morning, no going out; I spend the day very agreeably at Home.

M^r Carter appointed to *Ben*, & I another *Sonata* to practise. He wrote for Miss *Nancy* also “*Infancy*” to get by Heart & sing it with the *Guitar*. The day continues stormy; *Bob*, however, has ventured out; for neither Heat, nor Cold, nor Storm can stay him! —

We dined at three — The Colonel at Dinner observed that many of the most just, & nervous sentiments are contain’d in Songs & small Sketches of Poetry; but being attended with *Frippery Folly* or *Indecency* they are many times look’d over. I am remarkably pleased with the Monument erected to the memory of General Wolfe¹ in the universal Magazine for Sep-

¹ General Wolfe’s remains were-carried to England, where the monument above referred to was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. There is also an obelisk, sixty feet in height, in the government gardens at Quebec, in his honor and that of his enemy, Montcalm.

tember 1773. The General is there represented in an expiring Posture, supported by an English Soldier, who seems to comfort him in his last moments, by directing his closing Eyes to a Figure representing Victory, holding in one hand a palm-Branch, the emblem of peace; & a Crown or Wreath of immortality in the other, which she offers the dying commander; while he himself seems to make a final effort to express his Satisfaction at her Appearance. On the corners of the Base are two Lions couchant, the emblems of the British Nation, supporting the Sarcophagus or marble Urn, & intended to express the gratitude of his native country for his eminent Services. On the first pannel of the Base is an elegant alto Relievo, representing the debarkation of the Troops at the Foot of the Heights of Abraham.

The Writer says that the Height of the Monument from the Ground-Line to the top of the Tent, is nearly twenty-seven feet; that the figures are considerably larger than the Life, & beautifully executed.

On an oval Tablet in the front of the Urn are inscribed the underwritten Lines.

To the Memory
of

JAMES WOLFE ESQ^R

Major-General, & Commander in Chief of the
British Land Forces on an Expedition against
Quebeck. Who, surmounting by ability &
valour All Obstacles of Art & Nature,

Was slain,

In the moment of Victory,

At the head

of his conquering Troops on the 13th
of September, 1759;

THE KING,

and the Parliament of Great Britain Dedicate
this Monument.

Honour is here indeed done to merit, and Valour is justly eternized! —

I was reading in the Evening to *Bob* in the Monthly Review the remarks on the writings of Phillis Wheatly¹ of Boston; at which he seem'd in astonishment; sometimes wanting to see her, then to know if she knew grammar, Latin, &c. at last he expressed himself in a manner very unusual for a Boy of his turn, & suddenly exclaimed, Good God! I wish I was in Heaven! — The Weather is so stormy I chose to forego my Supper, rather than venture into the dark, & Water. In bed a little after ten which is our usual time.

Sunday 6.

I rose at eight — The morning cold & stormy — *Ben* is distressed that he cannot go to Church; I cannot say but I enjoy myself with great Satisfaction tho' I stay most of my time in my Chamber; & often have to withstand the solicitations of Gentlemen to visit them.

Breakfasted at half after nine. Mr Lane the other Day informed me that the *Anabaptists* in Loudon County are growing very numerous, & seem to be increasing in affluence; and as he thinks quite destroying pleasure in the Country; for they encourage ardent

¹ Phillis Wheatley, a negro slave, was brought to America in 1761, and was bought from the slave-market by John Wheatley of Boston. Educated by his daughters, she soon developed remarkable acquisitive faculties, and in sixteen months she could read English fluently, and composed many lines for her friends. In October, 1775, she addressed some verses and a letter to General Washington (which were published in the Pennsylvania Gazette for April, 1776), to which he courteously replied. She died at Boston, Dec. 5th, 1784, in want and poverty. Among her writings are, *An Elgiac Poem on the death of Rev. George Whitefield* and *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, by Phillis Wheatley, negro servant to Mr. John Wheatley of Boston.

Pray'r; strong & constant faith, & an intire Banishment of *Gaming*, Dancing, & Sabbath-Day Diversions.

I have also before understood that they are numerous in many County's in this Province, & are Generally accounted troublesome — Parson *Gibbern* has preached several sermons in opposition to them, in which he has labour'd to convince his people that what they say are only whimsical Fancies or at most Religion grown to Wildness & Enthusiasm! — There is also in these counties one M^r. Woddel¹, a presbyterian Clergyman, of an irreproachable Character, who preaches to the people under Trees in summer, & in private Houses in Winter. Him, however, the people in general dont more esteem than the Anabaptist Preachers; but the People of Fashion in general countenance, & commend him. I have never had an opportunity of seeing M^r. Woddel, as he is this Winter up in the Country, but M^r. & M^{rs} Carter speak well of him, M^r. & M^{rs} Fantleroy also, and all who I have ever heard mention his Name. Like *Bob* I am at once fill'd with pleasure & surprise, when I see the remarks of the Reviewers confirmed as to the Writings of that ingenious *African Phillis Wheatly* of Boston; her verses seem to discover that She is tolerably well acquainted with *Poetry, Learning, & Religion*.

In the universal Magazine for September 1773 are the following Lines on her being brought from *Africa* to *America* by herself.

¹The celebrated Dr. James Waddell, the blind preacher of Wirt's *British Spy*, was settled in Lancaster and Northumberland counties from 1762 to 1788, but during the latter part of this period it was his custom, on grounds of health, to spend a part of the year in upper Virginia, where he lived constantly in later years. See Foote's *Sketches in Virginia*, I, 367-387. (*Am. Hist. Review*, V. 5, No. 2, 303, n. 2.)

“Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan Land,
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God; and there's a Saviour too;
Once I Redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable Race with scornful Eye,
“Their Colour is a Diabolic Dye.”
Remember, christians, Negroes, black as Cain,
May be refin'd, and join the Angelic Train.”

— The people Went to day as usual into the Woods with the Cart & Oxen for Wood, as the cold and stormy Weather the several days past has occasioned large, & steady fires — It seems however to be a Breach of the Law of the Sabbath. *Ben* impatient of staying at home rode out about Eleven, when the weather is more moderate; *Bob*, *Harry* & M^r *Randolph* also are all going out; I seem happy when intirely alone, & have undisturbed liberty to spend in Devotion God's holy Sabbath of Rest.

Before Night it grew fair when on a Sudden all are out, so that we seem like a Town; but most of the Inhabitants are black — We dined at three, no company. Evening *Bob* returned and brought M^r *Turburville's* Compliments, with a strong invitation for me to visit him — A little before the sun went down I took a walk down the Poplar Avenue; which must certainly be vastly pleasant in Summer — At the farthest end of this walk I gathered & eat some Pisimmonds from a large Tree which were exceeding sweet, & agreeable. Supped at nine. At Supper the Colonel informed me that he has invented this Day a method for finding the difference of the value of money in this *Province* and in *Maryland*. We do not spend Sundays thus in Jersey. In Bed by ten. Ben at home.

Monday 7.

The morning vastly clear & cool —

The Colonel rode to Richmond Court at twelve, with M^r. *Randolph* I walked to see the Negroes make a fence; they drive into the Ground Chestnut stakes about two feet apart in a straight Row, & then twist in the Boughs of Savin¹ which grows in great plenty here — Ben, to Day, began Virgils Georgics — And Prissy began Division — By accident to day in the Garden I took up M^r. Gregory the Gardiners Spade, for which he instantly called on me for my forfeit — This Gardiner through the Summer from this Time has half a Crown² daily Wages — Dined at half after two.

Teusday 8.

I rose at six — the morning fine. Breakfasted at nine. At twelve I walked, to the mill together with M^r. & M^{rs} Carter; Miss Prissy & Nancy, to see them bake Biscuit, & pack flour;³ here too I had a Forfeit for kneeding biscuit. The Colonel shewed me and explained the Pan of his Mill; his Canals; Waste-gates; Toll Mill, Merchant Mill; &c. The tide flows quite to the Mill & is navigable with Canoes and Flats — He told me that his Wastgate as it stands alone cost him 95£. — And nothing less than 5000£ Capital can continue the works & keep them supplied. The Ovens bake 100 lb. of Flour at a Heating; there

¹ *i. e.*, juniper.

² The English crown piece, so called from the impress of the royal crown which it originally bore, was of the value of five shillings.

³ The flour was intended largely for export, while the bread, or ship-biscuit, supplied the merchant vessels which traded regularly between English ports and Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries.

are in the Bake-house two Ovens. Dined half after two.

The Colonel formed last Sunday, and is yet completing Tables for finding the difference between *Virginia*, & *Maryland* Currency, as he is entering largely into Trade he finds it necessary to be better acquainted with the Exchange. *Ben* agreed to ask his Papa at Supper for Leave to go with me to Philadelphia but poor Boy his resolution fail'd him!

Wednesday 9.

Up at seven. very Windy — Evening I rode with *Ben* to M^r *Lanes* to see young Lane; he was out however, & we soon returned — M^r Warden was at M^r *Lanes*. Evening we played in our small Concert our old Sonata; & besides *Felton's* Gavott; supped at nine.

Thursday 10.

M^{rs} *Carter* informed me last Evening that this Family one year with another consumes 27000 Lb. of Pork; & twenty Beeves. 550 Bushels of Wheat, besides corn — 4 Hogsheads of Rum, & 150 Gallons of Brandy.

Breakfasted with us M^r Warden, at twelve, with M^r Randolph, I went a fishing, but we had only the luck to catch one a-piece. Dined with us M^r *Cunningham*, he has lately had a severe turn of Pleurisy — I supped with M^r Randolph on Fish.

Fryday 11.

The finest morning we have yet had; the *Robbins*, & *blue Birds* singing all around us.

Prissy, *Nancy* & *Bob* go this day to the *Dance* which is at M^r *Turburville's* — It comes here next — I

wrote a Letter to M^r. Rees¹ at Trenton — At twelve with Ben I rode to M^r. *Lanes* to see young M^r. *Lane*, he happened to be at Home, & introduced to me M^r. *Middleton* an old facetious but profane Gentleman. We dined with M^r. *Lane*. When called on for my Toast I gave Miss *Sally Hollinshead*, of Philadelphia. Dined at three —

I heard a mocking Bird sing this Day. Supped at eight & in Bed early for I am much fatigued with riding.

Saturday 12.

I rose by six — Breakfasted with us Captain *Blackwel*; master of a Ship lying in *Ucomico* — I heard *Harry*, Miss *Fanny*, & *Betsy* repeat their catechism — At ten M^r. *Lane* called on us to go on Board Captain *Blackwels* Ship to Dine — We consented and set off by Eleven; We rode to a place called Horn-Point, which is about a Mile up the River *Ucomico*, & in sight of the wide *Potowmac*; off this point at about a Quarter of a miles Distance lay Captain *Griggs*, & Captain *Blackwels* Ships, they sent immediately a Boat to carry us on board, but on telling us that neither of the Captains were at Home, we chose rather to turn Back — The distance from M^r. *Carters* to this Point, is called twelve miles; the Land seems to be exceeding poor, as it is covered for most of the way with Large Pines, & shrubby *Savins*, & destitute almost entirely of Cultivation — From Horn-Point we agreed to ride to one M^r. *Camels*, who is Controller of the customs &c here; chiefly to see a Daughter of his to whom we were equally strangers, we arrived at M^r. *Camels* about

¹ Oliver Reese, who graduated with Fithian from Princeton College, class of 1772.

two o-Clock, & were severally introduced to Miss Pinkstone Camel, a young woman of about sixteen, neat, handsome, genteel, & sociable; & in my opinion she possesses as much of these as any young Lady in Virginia whom I have yet seen — It has been M^r Camels misfortune, in the course of trade, to be reduced to low circumstances, on which account his Family does not now meet with so great respect, as I am told they formerly did —

From Horn Point to the Comptrolers, the distance is call'd four miles. Before Dinner we Borrowed the Comptrolers Barge, which is an overgrown Canoe, & diverted ourselves in the River which lies full fronting the House; & we were the better pleased with the Sport, as all our motions were in the sight of Miss Camel — We dined at half after three on Fish, & wild Duck — our drink Grogg, & Water. From the Comptrolers at 5 o-Clock we set out Homewards; we call'd on our way at Captain *Middletons*, whom I take to be exceedingly Profane in his Language; we were introduced to his two Daughters; they seemed however aukward in their Behaviour, & dull, & saturnine in their Disposition — The Distance from the Comptrolers to Captain *Middletons* is seven Miles — We left there at eight in the evening, & rode to M^r Joseph Lanes Esq^r which distance is called five miles, & arrived at 9 o-Clock — here we had an excellent Supper — with good *Porter* & *Madeira* — after Supper, when call'd on for my Toast, I gave Miss *Betsy Beaty* of Newington, *Pennsylvania* — At half after ten we set off and rode home; Distance three miles, Our poor Horses went the distances which I have laid down and were not fed in the course of the day; as they have no taverns in these parts — Our whole Distance 31

Miles Expende to the Sailors for their trouble 1/10.
Exceedingly fatigued with Riding.

Sunday 13.

Soon after Breakfast Captain Scott (master of a Schooner laden with Wheat, & bound from Alexandria for Philadelphia, which about ten days past in a gale of wind run aground and is like to lose her Cargo) come to hire M^r Carters Schooner to assist in unloading her that the vessel may be saved; the vessel run aground, & now lies nearly opposite the mouth of the River Nomini in Potowmack! — The Colonel is engaged in taking off a Description of the River *Ucomico*; the Road from hence to Horn-Point: & Mondays-Point; with the houses on the several ways —

This day I declined going to Church, chiefly on account of my Horse, who went so far yesterday — It is however the first time that I have kept myself at home in good weather — Evening M^r Carter received a Packet of Letters from *Anapolis* by the Post, but none comes to me this long Winter — Bob to-day rode to Richmond Church, and in the Evening brought from Counsellor *Tayloe*¹ a strong invitation to call and see him.

Monday 14.

Bob this morning begg'd me to learn him lattin; his Reason he tells me is that yesterday M^{rs} Taylor² told him he must not have either of her Daughters unless he learn'd Latin he urged me so strong that I put him some Lessons for leisure hours. Rainy most

¹ Colonel John Tayloe of Mt. Airy in Richmond County, a fellow member with Robert Carter in the governor's council.

² Rebecca Plater Tayloe, daughter of Governor George Plater of Maryland.

of this day, & in the afternoon from the West arose a black cloud which was attended with several pretty hard Claps of Thunder——We had with us one M^r *Neal* a good Sort of self sufficient Gentleman.

Teusday 15.

This morning, as Ben & Bob were agreeing on the price of a Rudiman Grammar, which *Bob* wanted to purchase of *Ben*; after some time when Bob would not give 2/10. Bens great demand for a Book almost worn out, which, when new, may, by thousands be had in Philadelphia for 2/, that Currency——He threw his Book into the fire, & destroy'd it at once!——An Instance of two ruling Foibles which I discover in Ben viz. obstinacy, & avarice. And another I mentioned the other day, of his agreeing, for half a Bit, or $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{2}$ d. a week, to play the flute for a limited time, every night after I am in Bed; of this however he has grown tired, & given up his wages on account of the Labour or Confinement of the Task——And I should be deceived, if a very little money would not excite him to submit to almost any menial service——Bob however, for the present is frustrated in his purpose of learning Grammar, & it seems to chagrin him as much, as tho' he actually believed in what M^{rs} Taylor told him last Sunday, that without he understands Latin, he will never be able to win a young Lady of Family & fashion for his Wife.——At the Noon play-Hours *Bob* & *Nelson* the Boy who waits on the School had a fight, I know not on what account; it was Bobs misfortune in the course of the Battle to receive a blow on his cheek near his Eye, which is visible, & brought the intelligence of the Quarrel to me, for all were wholly silent till I made inquiry, when all in a moment seem'd to turn and try

to convict him——In the Evening, after School, I took them both to my Room, and examined them of the reason, Place, and manner of their fighting; from themselves it seem'd plain that they fought for mere Diversion. I therefore dismiss'd Nelson, & kept Bob til near Supper & then gave him a smart correction & dismiss'd him.

Wednesday 16.

The morning cloudy & windy, Breakfasted at nine——M^r Randolph hurt himself by a Fall from a fence to day badly——Dined at half after two——Towards Evening the clouds all scattered, the wind fell, & left the air pleasant: The Birds also seemed glad and merry——The whole reminded me of a beautiful, & memorable passage in Milton:¹

“If Chance the Radiant Sun with farewell-Sweet,
Extend his Evening Beam the fields revive,
The Birds their notes renew, the bleating Herds
Attest their joy that Hill & valley rings.”

After school, I had the honour of taking a walk with M^{rs} Carter through the Garden——It is beautiful, & I think uncommon to see at this Season peas all up two & three Inches——We gathered two or three Cowslips in full-Bloom; & as many violets——The English Honey-Suckle is all out in green & tender Leaves——M^r Gregory is grafting some figs——M^{rs} Carter shewed me her Apricot-Grafts; Asparagus Beds &c. Before Supper a Black cloud appeared in the West, at which M^{rs} Carter discovered much concern as She is uncommonly afraid both of wind and Thunder.

¹ *Paradise Lost*, Book II, l. 492-496.

Thursday 17.

This morning M^r. Carter put Miss *Fanny* to learning the Notes——While we were breakfasting M^r. *Stadley* the musician came; Miss *Prissy* is with him; *Nancy* learns the *Guitar*, under the direction of her *Papa*, as M^r. *Stadley* does not understand playing on the *Guitar*——Dined with us a young Gentleman M^r. *Fantleroy* from *Hobbes-Hole*——He seems to be a modest sensible, genteel young Fellow——I had the pleasure of taking a walk in the Garden at five with M^r. *Stadley*; *Bob* along——He is a man of Sense, & has great Skill in music. I spent the Evening in the Room in the midst of music.

Fryday 18.

The morning damp & disagreeable——M^r. *Stadley* continues to Day with Miss *Prissy*. We received this morning the *Williamsburg Gazette's*¹——Several Addresses appear, and poetical Encomiums on the Countess of Dunmore lately arrived there.

M^r. *Bracken*, & M^r. *Henley*, are still contending in furious Combat, but poor *Henley* seems to be on the verge of a Defeat.

I have all along intended, & shall now attempt to give a short description of *Nomini-Hall*, and the several Buildings, & improvements adjoining it; as well for my own amusement, as also to be able with certainty to inform others of a Seat as magnificent in itself and with as many surrounding Conveniences, as any I have ever seen, & perhaps equal to any in this Colony.

¹ There were two Gazettes published in Williamsburg at this time; one, established by William Hunter, publication of which was suspended after the Revolution; the other was begun by William Rind, in 1766, publication suspended, 1774. It is probable that Councillor Carter subscribed to both these papers.

Mr *Carter* now possesses 60000 Acres of Land, & about 600 Negroes——But his Estate is much divided,¹ & lies in almost every county in this Colony; He has Lands in the Neighbourhood of Williamsburg, & an elegant & Spacious House in that City——He owns a great part of the well known Iron-Works near Baltimore in Maryland²——And he has one or more considerable Farms not far from Anopolis.

He has some large tracts of Land far to the West, at a place call'd "Bull Run", & the "Great Meadows" among the mountains. He owns land near Dumfries on the Potowmack; & large Tracts in this & the neighbouring Counties.——Out of these Lands, which are situated so remote from each other in various parts of these two large Provinces, Virginia, & Maryland, Mr *Carter* has chosen for the place of his habitation a high spot of Ground in Westmoreland County at the Head of the Navigation of the River Nomini, where he has erected a large Elegant House, at a vast expence, which commonly goes by the name of *Nomini-Hall*. This House is built with Brick, but the bricks have been covered with strong lime Mortar; so that the building is now perfectly white; It is seventy-six Feet long from East to West; & forty-four wide from North to South, two Stories high; the Pitch of the lower story seventeen Feet, & the upper Story twelve——It has five Stacks of Chimneys, tho' two of these serve only for ornaments.

¹ The Nomini Hall estate is said to have comprised some 2500 acres and 150 slaves. See Glenn's *Some Colonial Mansions*, V. 1, pp. 276-279.

² Probably those established at Gwinn's Falls and Jones's Falls by the Baltimore Company, in which members of the Tasker family (Mrs. Carter's connections) were interested. See Bishop, *History of American Manufactures*, I, 586. (*Am. Hist. Review*, V. 5, No. 2, 304, n. 1.)

There is a beautiful Jutt, on the South side, eighteen feet long, & eight Feet deep from the wall which is supported by three tall pillars—— On the South side, or front, in the upper story are four Windows each having twenty-four Lights of Glass. In the lower story are two Windows each having forty-two Lights of Glass, & two Doors each having Sixteen Lights—— At the East end the upper story has three Windows each with eighteen Lights; & below two Windows both with eighteen Lights & a Door with nine——

The North side I think is the most beautiful of all; In the upper Story is a Row of seven Windows with eighteen Lights a piece; and below six windows, with the like number of lights; besides a large Portico in the middle, at the sides of which are two Windows each with eighteen Lights.—— At the West end are no Windows—— The Number of Lights in all is five hundred, & forty nine—— There are four Rooms on a Floor, disposed of in the following manner. Below is a dining Room where we usually sit; the second is a dining-Room for the Children; the third is M^r Carters study; & the fourth is a Ball-Room thirty Feet long—— Above stairs, one Room is for M^r & M^{rs} Carter; the second for the young Ladies; & the other two for occasional Company. As this House is large, & stands on a high piece of Land it may be seen a considerable distance; I have seen it at the Distance of six Miles——

At equal Distances from each corner of this Building stand four other considerable Houses, which I shall next a little describe. First, at the North East corner, & at 100 yards Distance stands the School House;

At the North-West Corner, & at the same Distance stands the stable; At the South-West Corner, & at the same Distance, stands the Coach-House; And lastly, at the South-East corner, & at an equal distance stands the Work-House. These four Houses are the corner of a Square of which the Great-House is the Center——First the School-House is forty five feet long, from East to West, & twenty-seven from North to South; It has five well-finished, convenient Rooms, three below stairs, & two above; It is built with Brick a Story and a half high with Dormant Windows; In each Room is a fire; In the large Room below-Stairs we keep our School; the other two Rooms below which are smaller are allowed to M^r Randolph the Clerk; The Room above the School-Room Ben and I live in; & the other Room above Stairs belongs to *Harry & Bob*. Five of us live in this House with great Neatness, & convenience; each one has a Bed to himself——

And we are call'd by the Bell to the Great-House to Breakfast &c——The Wash-House is built in the same form, & is of the same Size of the School-House——From the front yard of the Great House, to the Wash-House is a curious *Terrace*, covered finely with Green turf, & about five foot high with a slope of eight feet, which appears exceeding well to persons coming to the front of the House——This *Terrace* is produced along the Front of the House, and ends by the Kitchen; but before the Front-Doors is a broad flight of steps of the same Height, & slope of the *Terrace*.

The Stable & coach-House are of the same Length & Breadth as the School-and Wash-House, only they are higher pitched to be convenient for holding Hay & Fodder.

Due East of the Great House are two Rows of

tall, flourishing, beautiful, Poplars,¹ beginning on a Line drawn from the School to the Wash-House; these Rows are something wider than the House, & are about 300 yards Long, at the Eastermost end of which is the great Road leading through Westmorland to Richmond. These Rows of Poplars form an extremely pleasant avenue, & at the Road, through them, the House appears most romantic, at the same time that it does truly elegant — The Area of the Triangle made by the Wash-House, Stable, & School-House is perfectly level, & designed for a bowling-Green, laid out in rectangular Walks which are paved with Brick, & covered over with burnt Oyster-Shells — In the other Triangle, made by the Wash-House, Stable, & Coach-House is the Kitchen, a well-built House, as large as the School-House; Bake-House; Dairy; Store-House & several other small Houses; all which stand due West, & at a small distance from the great House, & form a little handsome Street. These Buildings stand about a quarter of a Mile from a Fork of the River Nomini, one Branch of which runs on the East of us, on which are two Mills; one of them belongs to M^r Turburville the other to M^r Washington, both within a mile — another branch of the River runs on the West of us, on which and at a small distance above the House stands M^r Carters Merchant Mill, which I have in other places described; to go to the mill from the House we descend I imagine about an 100 Feet; the Dam is so broad that two carriages may pass conveniently on it; & the Pond from twelve to Eighteen Foot water — at the fork M^r Carter has a Granary,

¹ These beautiful old trees are still the admiration of all who see them; though the house and buildings have passed away these many years, this stately avenue survives with hardly a tree missing. See *frontispiece*.

where he lands his Wheat for the mill, Iron from the Works &c——

In the Evening M^r *Carter* sent for Ben & I to play over the *Sonata* which we have lately learn'd; we performed it, & had not only M^r *Stadleys* Approbation, but his praise; he did me the honour to say that “I play a good Flute.” He took a Flute also and play'd; which put me in mind, at once, of the speech of the Shepherd in *virgil*.——Non tu in Triviis, indocte, solebas Stridenti miserum Stipula disperdere lammen.¹ For when compared to him, the best that Ben or I can do, is like Crows among Nightingales——We play'd till ten, and separated, I gave to Miss Harriot, for saying a good lesson, half a Bit——

Saturday 19.

The morning still wet & disagreeable——Last night I dreamed much of the Girl, which, I most of all others, esteem, & admire; of *Laura*; But oh! I dreamed she was treacherous!——If it be true, I must suppress the Greatness of my Disappointment by reflecting that I had not well enough considered this Sentiment of the *poet*, That,——Varium et mutabile semper Foemina——I discover weakness when I am writing in this manner; but Anxiety, and mighty-Love carry me over the bounds which I set for the regulation of my conduct——Dreams indeed are vain & false; But perhaps *Laura* may think that Lovers vows are vain and trifling as they!——I spend the day in my Room looking over the Catalogue of the *Reviewers* for August, September, October & November 1773——Ben, & Bob, & Harry, out tho the Day is bad——M^r *Stadley* is yet busy with the young Ladies——

¹ *Bucolica*, Ecl. III. “Lammen” for carmen.

Sunday 20.

The weather still cloudy, damp, and disagreeable, but it is perfectly calm; people here attribute this so long dullness to the Sun crossing the Line which is to happen to-morrow — After Breakfast M^r Stadley left us, The day is so bad none of us go to Church — Before Dinner I received from M^r Lane, by his Servant a Note, informing me that he is to set out to-morrow for home — In return, by the Same bearer, I wrote him my Compliments in a letter; desiring him to remember me to my Acquaintances in Pennsylvania, & New Jersey, as he will probably soon see many of them — I spent much of this Day in M^r Carters Library among the works of mighty-Men; I turned over *Calmet's*, Scripture prints, they are beautiful, & vastly entertaining — At Dinner by some means, I know not how a conversation was introduced concerning the Souls of Women; M^{rs} Carter observed, that She has heard they have no Souls — Says Miss Priscilla in a moment if I thought so I would not have spent all this morning in Reading; nor would Women, (Said the well discerning Miss) be careful to avoid any Shameful, or Sinful Action — It is not unlikely but these are the private Sentiments of many among the Fair; & no doubt they would be generally and publickly practised if it should be universally admitted that the Soul of a Woman is not to exist after the present Life.

Monday 21.

This day the days and nights are equal — The Sun enters *Aries* — *Aries Die Somniq: pares Jam fecerit Horas, Et medium Luci atq: Umbris jam dividet Orbem. Virgil, Georgic 1.*

At Breakfast M^{rs} Carter asked me who is foremost

in Arithmetic; whether Bob, or Prissy? At which M^r Carter observed, that him of his Sons whom he finds most capable of doing Business when he leaves the World, & his Estate, shall have the management of the whole, and support the Rest. It seemed to me to be not an ill-chosen Incentive to Diligence among the Boys —

This morning still cloudy, the wind at South — about ten a black-gloomy cloud appeared in the west; it came over like Virgils —

Omnia Ventorum concurrere proelia — The wind changed with the cloud to the westward — Dined with us M^r Washington & M^r Philip Smith, Brother to the Parson of this parish, to whom I was formally introduced — Toasts as usual — Towards Evening it grows more pleasant & after School, I had the pleasure of a walk in the Garden with M^{rs} Carter, Miss Stanhope, & Miss Harriot — The peas have grown admirably since my last Walk; & indeed all the Herbs seem sprouting — Harry this Day finished vulgar Fractions, & began Practice. Expence to day as Pin-Money a Bit or $7\frac{1}{2}^d$.

Tuesday 22.

Once more the weather fine — Last night by some accident, the Main Spring of my Watch either unhook'd or broke, for when I thought she had run down, and trying to wind her, I found the Chain made no Resistance. As there is no opportunity here of having her refitted, I seem in considerable difficulty — In Spite of all my strongest opposing efforts, my thoughts dwell on that Vixen *Laura*. I strive to refuse them admission, or harbour them in my heart, yet like hidden fire they introduce themselves, & seize, & over

come me when perhaps I am pursuing some amusing or useful Study; or giving precepts & Directions to my little fair Seminary — At ten M^r Lane & M^r John Simpson call'd to see us — At twelve we had a pleasant walk in the Garden — M^r Carter, & M^{rs} Carter along — M^r Lane informs that he has by particular Request, in the absence of the Parson, Read the funeral Service twice since he has been in the county, which is only a few Weeks — He sets off for home soon; M^r Carter says he is in Love, & I think it is with Miss *Camel*. I was introduced to M^r Simpson: He talks much; & often mentions his having been to England — They Dined with us; Toasts as usual. Evening I have the Tooth Ach.

Wednesday 23.

I was almost wholly deprived of Sleep last night with a pain in my Jaw and Teeth; which continues this morning so bad I scarce know what, or how to do — Frail, & weak nature; how we are forever teas'd, & vexed with Anxiety in our minds, or Pains & other distresses in our Bodies! — We dined at half after two — It is now seven in the Evening & I am about entering into bed, as the pain has entirely left me, that I may satisfy my Body for last nights loss of my usual rest, I leave Ben by the Fire, poring over a History of England, nodding Sometimes, however, & impatient of the distance of nine o-Clock.

Thursday 24.

At Breakfast M^r Carter entertained us with an account of what he himself saw the other Day, which is a strong Representation of the cruelty & distress which many among the Negroes suffer in Virginia!

M^r Carter dined at Squire Lees some few Weeks ago; at the same place, that day, dined also M^r George Turburville¹ & his Wife — As M^r Carter rode up he observed M^r Turburville's Coach-Man sitting on the Chariot-Box, the Horses off — After he had made his compliments in the House, he had occasion soon after to go to the Door, when he saw the Coachman still sitting, & on examination found that he was there fast chained! The Fellow is inclined to run away, & this is the method which This Tyrant makes use of to keep him when abroad; & So soon as he goes home he is delivered into the pityless Hands of a bloody Overseer! — In the Language of a Heathen I query whether cunning old *Charon* will not refuse to transport this imperious, haughty Virginian Lord When he shall happen to die over the Styx to the Elysian Gardens; lest his Lordship in the passage should take affront at the treatment, & attempt to chain him also to the Stygean Galley for Life! —

Or, In the language of a Christian, I query whether he may be admitted into the peaceful Kingdom of Heaven, where meekness, Holiness, & Brotherly-Love, are distinguishing Characteristicks! —

Tho the Pain in my Teeth has entirely left me, I am not therefore free from distress; for to day I am attacked with a pain in my Head, & Fever; which hinders me from Walking out at twelve as is my Custom!

Fryday 25.

I rose by seven — & through Gods mercy I feel myself much relieved of yesterdays complaints — The

¹ George Richard Turberville, son of George Turberville of Hickory Hill and Martha Lee, his third wife; married in 1769, Martha, only child of Gawin Corbin of Peckatone, Westmoreland County, where he resided at this time.

weather cloudy, cold, rainy at times, & unpleasant — Evening *Ben* took courage and asked his *Papa* for his consent to allow him to go with me to Philadelphia — The Colonel very kindly, & at the same time very Politely consented — For he would not agree till he knew of me whether it was agreeable to me, and at my Request that he is to go.

Saturday 26.

Ben & *Bob* are soon after Breakfast on Horseback; Breakfasted with us one Lee, a Gentleman of what they call here the back Woods — He seems indeed a little stiff in his manner; but he has had a long Ride — I spend the Day close in my Room, Reading Writing &c.

Sunday 27.

An odd Jumble of affairs happened this morning — *Bob* drest himself & came into our Room & in his usual way began to be pretty free in telling us *News*¹... — Before *Bob* had done, the Bell rung for Breakfast & we parted — All went to Church to-day but Miss *Nancy*, *Harry*, & *Myself* — I spend the day agreeably in M^r *Carters* Library — Evening when the Colonel returned, (for he dined at Squire Lee's) he informed me of an affair which happened yesterday in this County, One *Smith*, a Man of a Middle age who lives with his aged Father, & his Father too is old & declining fast with disease — This youth has lately made a will for his Father which he yesterday compell'd him to sign; and after the Good old Man had obliged him, he beat and abused him (tho his father) in desperate manner it is thought with a design to destroy him! Soon

¹ Here occur some bits of boy gossip.

after this he discharged a musket at his own Brother who was at some distance from him & lodged in his body eighteen large Shott! — Doctors were immediately call'd — & officers directed to take the villian but he, with his Wife have hid themselves in a Thicket & have as yet evaded the search of the Sheriff —

Sup'd with us one M^r Mathews a Steward for M^r Carter in Louden.

(Monday 28.)

Breakfasted with us M^r Mathews; he seems to be a man of great Gravity, says little, & Sighs often — The day is warm & vastly mild; it is the first Day we have in all our rooms been without any Fire — At twelve I rode to M^r Taylors two miles; he was out, I sat half an hour with Miss Taylor & returned to Dinner, the Ride exceeding pleasant, and my Horse seems (as jockeys say) in good Flesh & well prepar'd for our approaching & much wished for Journey — Evening M^r *Simpson* came in, sup'd & stays the Night. He has last Week, been distilling M^r Carters Liquor made of Pisimonds — it is soft, mild, of a fair pure Colour, burns clear, but does not answer the Colonels Expectations; so that he does not propose to recommend it to his Neighbours in this or the Neighbouring Counties as a useful experiment. When call'd on for my Toast, at Supper I gave Miss *Jenny Corbin*; M^{rs} *Carter* gave Captain *Lee*; & M^r *Simpson* gave Miss *Jones*.

Teusday 29.

To warm to day for fire, but we have the wind very strong from the West — M^r *Carter* rode to Court — Soon after Breakfast I receiv'd a Letter from M^r *Andrew Bryan* of Baltimore, Maryland formerly at

College my Class-Mate —— the Letter bears Date January 21st 1774 Dated at *Baltimore*. He informs me of his good Health, & that he shall soon forward my Letters inclosed to him; perhaps kind opportunity shall have before this hour favoured my wish, & brought to Laura advices of my State —— At twelve I rode out, with Ben, an hour & better; the day vastly windy. About four Colonel Philip Lee's Chariot arrived, in which came four young Misses to be ready for the Dance which happens here to-morrow —— I am informed this Evening that Smith the Villian mentioned last Sunday was to day apprehended, & committed to the prison in this County.

Wednesday 30.

Rainy & cold —— The Colonel informed me this morning that the general Opinion of the Gentlemen at Court yesterday seem'd to be that the Country would be free'd of three Villians if the old abused Father, the wounded Son & Brother, & the offending guilty Son were to be all hanged —— The Day so bad M^r *Christian* does not attend —— M^{rs} *Washington*¹ came however, with Miss Jenny her Daughter; the two Fantleroy's came also; & Miss Corbin, & Miss Turburville, & one Miss Hale a new *Scholar* —— M^r *Carters* Man play'd & the Dance goes on with great Spirit & neatness.

Evening there is as common a good play. Separated all for Bed by half after nine.

Thursday 31.

All our company continue. The morning fair & cool —— Yesterday & to-day I am strongly solicited to dance —— I decline however & must persevere. ——

¹ Mrs. John Augustine Washington of "Bushfield," in Westmoreland County: was Hannah, daughter of Col. John Bushrod.

Mr & Mrs Turburville came in before Dinner — With the two Fantleroyes, Ben, Bob, & Harry, I had a pleasant walk through the Fields, to the Mill &c. I paid my forfeit to the Baker /7½ — The Plumb-Trees are beginning to blossom — Towards Evening our company all left us.

FRYDAY April 1st 1774.

Good Fryday — A general Holiday here — Wednesday & thursday I gave up my School on account of the Dance, & they must have this Day for Devotion! — The Colonel, *Ben Harry*, & *myself* all go to Ucomico Church — Parson *Smith* gave the usual Prayers for the Day and a long Sermon very suitable and well chosen.

After Service we were invited and went Home with Captain Walker to dine; I was here introduced to Dr Steptoe & a young Gentleman Brother to the Parson Both seem agreeable, & appear to be men of Sense. Dined here also the Parson, his Wife, Sister, Mr Warder the Lawyer.

Towards Evening we rode home. I observed as I rode along People are universally plowing up their Land for planting Corn & for Tobacco. And in one field I saw several Women planting Corn. I think however, it is early even here — They raise no Flax, their Land in general being so poor that it will not produce it — And their method of farming is slovenly, without any regard to continue their Land in heart, for future Crops — They plant large Quantities of Land, without any Manure, & work it very hard to make the best of the Crop, and when the Crop comes off they take away the Fences to inclose another Piece of Land for the next years tillage, and leave this

a common to be destroyed by Winter & Beasts till they stand in need of it again to plough — The Land most commonly too is of a light sandy soil, & produces in very great quantities shrubby *Savins* & *Pines*, unless in the Vallies, (for it is very hilly) & near the Potowmack where it is often vastly rich — M^r Carter has been lately solicited & was to have gone this Day with a number of Gentlemen to Horn-Point on the River Ucomico, with an intention, if they think the Situation will be proper, to establish Ware-Houses, & form a small Town — It is however, in my opinion, a fruitless Scheme —

Sunday 3.

The Day pleasant; I rode to church — after the Service proper for the Day, M^r Smith entertained us with a Sermon from Pauls Defence before King Agrippa “How is it thought a thing impossible with you that God should raise the dead.” He in this gave us a very plain & Just Discourse on the doctrine of the resurrection — This being Easter-Sunday, all the Parish seem’d to meet together High, Low, black, White all come out — After Sermon the Sacrament was administered, but none are admitted except communicants to see how the matter is conducted — After Sermon I rode to M^r Turburville’s¹ (for I found to day the true spelling of his name) There dined with him, Ladies M^{rs} Carter, & M^{rs} George Turburville: Gentlemen, Colonel Carter, Squire-Lee, M^r Cunningham, & M^r Jennings, Merchants; M^r George Lee, & Ben Carter & Myself —

¹The correct spelling is *Turberville*, from the French, *Tour de Ville*. The Virginia Turbervilles are said to be descended from the English Family of Bere Regis, Dorset. The progenitor of this family is supposed to have been a Sir Payne Turberville (or *Tour de Ville*) who accompanied the Conqueror, and whose name appears on the “Battle-Abbey Roll”. Their crest is a tower.

We had an elegant dinner; Beef & Greens; roast-Pig; fine boil'd Rock-Fish, Pudding, Cheese &c — Drink: good Porter-Beer, Cyder, Rum, & Brandy Toddy. The Virginians are so kind one can scarce know how to dispense with, or indeed accept their kindness shown in such a variety of instances. — I had again an opportunity of seeing Miss *Sally Panton* which is the name of M^{rs} Turburville's English Governess — But the common voice seems to be against me as to her being Handsome — But her huge *Stays* low *Head dress*; enormous long *Waist*, a *Dress* entirely contrary to the liking of Virginia Ladies, these I apprehend make her in their Eyes less personable, than to anyone wholly unprejudiced — Her *Stays* are suited to come up to the upper part of her shoulders, almost to her chin; and are swaithed round her as low as they can possibly be, allowing Her the liberty to walk at all: To be sure this is a vastly modest Dress! — She speaks French & is to teach the Language to Miss Turburville, & also Writing, & reading English — Upon the whole, if her Principles of Religion, & her moral behaviour, be as unexceptionable as her person, & her Manner, let M^r & M^{rs} Carters opinions go again me I shall think her agreeable — Miss *Prissy* Miss *Nancy*: & Miss *Fanny* all stay the night at Captain Turburville's — At Church, M^r Low, a young Scotch Gentleman, tutor in Colonel *Washingtons* Family, solicited me to carry his Recommendations from Scotland, to D^r Witherspoon as he is desirous to be licensed in one of our northern Presbyteries — I shall do him the Favour. The country begins to put on her Flowery Garment, & appear in *gaiety* — The *Apricots* are in their fullest Bloom; Peaches also, & Plumbs, & several sorts of Cherries are blossoming; as I look from my

Window & see Groves of Peach Trees on the Banks of Nomini; (for the orchards here are very large) and other Fruit Trees in Blossom; and amongst them interspers'd the gloomy Savin; beyond all these at a great Distance the blue Potowmack; and over this great River, just discern the Woods of Maryland & conceive that beyond them all lies Cohansie my native pleasant Residence; & when I think with myself that by Gods permission, in a very few days more I shall be in the midst of Society, quite remote from formality, and from the least fear of giving offence by being familiar, or of being aw'd to silence by ostentatious vanity: how the thought fires me! Direct my Way, merciful God, and keep my Feet from falling, & my Heart from disobeying thy pure & perfect commandments——And make my Way prosperous that I may go and return again, still doing thy Pleasure, & honouring thy great Name!

Monday 4.

Easter Monday; a general holiday; Negroes are now all disbanded till Wednesday morning & are at Cock Fights through the County; This morning I make a general payment. First, to Sam the Barber 8/2. Second to Tom the Hostler 7/6. third to Nelson who waits on me /.3½. Sum 15/11½.

Mr & Mrs Carter, with Mr Cunningham & Ben (as Mr Cunningham came home with us last Night) all rode to Day to Richmond Court——I was in the morning strongly solicited to go, but chose to decline it——After Breakfast, came home from Mr Turburville's our young Ladies, they inform me that Miss Panton discovered a strong inclination to be better acquainted with me; which indeed is a Curiosity that I

cannot say I am altogether destitute of. I shall therefore, when I find it convenient make Miss Panton a visit——

I was before Dinner very strongly urged, by Mr Taylor, Mr Randolph, & some others to attend a Cock-Fight, where 25 Cocks are to fight, & large Sums are betted, so large at one as twenty five Pounds, but I chose rather to stay at Home. I read to day, and am much charmed with a Speech of *Plato's* over Alexander the *Great* lying dead before him——“O thou, who deceived by vain-Glory didst think of grasping at everything, others are now going to gather the fruits of thy labours & thy Fatigues. Of so many conquests, there remains of thee but the terrible account, which thou art obliged to render unto the sovereign Judge”!

I have also to Day with considerable attention been looking over *Junius's* Letters. His sentiments are strong; & bold. His language is chaste, & concise. & his Genius seems free and vast——I cannot easily omit transcribing a short passage from his letter to the Rev^d Mr *Horne* in which he is speaking of Lord *Chatham*, as it pleases me vastly. “As for the common, sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar Ambition, I question whether the applause of *Junius*, would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a Seat in the Cabinet. But if his Ambition be upon a level with his understanding——If he Judges of what is truly honourable for himself with the same superior Genius which animates & directs him to Eloquence in Debates, to Wisdom in Decision, even the Pen of *Junius* shall contribute to reward him. Recorded Honour shall gather round his Monument, & thicken over him. It is a solid Fabric, & will support the

Lawrels that adorn it — I am not conversant in the language of panegyric — These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned."

Junius, however, does not seem to have been at all ignorant of his own merit; for in the close of the same letter he says "Such Artifices cannot long delude the understanding of the People; &, without meaning an indecent Comparison I may venture to foretell, that the *Bible* & *Junius* will be read when the Commentaries of the Jesuits are forgotten:" We supped at nine — M^r Carter tired and early in Bed.

After Supper I had a long conversation with M^{rs} Carter concerning Negroes in Virginia, & find that She esteems their value at no higher rate than I do. We both concluded, (I am pretty certain that the conclusion is just) that if in M^r Carters¹, or in any Gentlemans Estate, all the Negroes should be sold, & the Money put to Interest in safe hands, & let the Lands which these Negroes now work lie wholly uncultivated, the bare Interest of the price of the Negroes would be a much greater yearly income than what is now received from their working the Lands, making no allowance at all for the trouble & Risk of the Masters as to the Crops, & Negroes. — How much greater then must be the value of an Estate here if these poor enslaved Africans were all in their native desired Country, & in their Room industrious Tenants, who being born in freedom, by a laudable care, would not only enrich their Landlords, but would raise a hardy Offspring to be the Strength and the honour of the Colony.

¹ Robert Carter emancipated many of his slaves after the close of the Revolution, some of whom he also provided for.

Teusday 5.

It is with difficulty I am able to collect the members of our School together for Business. Holidays have become habitual, & they seem unwilling to give them over. As the Negroes have this Day for a Holiday our Schollars thinks it hard that they should be compell'd to attend to Business. I summon them together however, and shall keep them to constant Study until the time of my setting away. Miss Priscilla this morning told me, of Miss Panton, a moving story: Last Sunday Evening after we left there She took a lonely Walk, & being asked why She chose to walk without a companion, she answered that she was thinking of Home & of her Friends, & indulging her fond Grief on account of their absence! — Such a feeling as this I have not been a stranger to, I therefore Sympathize with the poor young Girl. The Day agreeably pleasant — Towards Evening Miss *Corbin* came over to pay us a visit. After School I waited on the Ladies in the Dining-Room the conversation was on Fashions, which instantly introduced the oddity of Miss *Panton*. But Miss Corbin with a *Sneer*, & with ill-nature enough, swore She would not think of imitating such a thing as her! — O! — Tantæne Animis cœlestibus Iræ? — I spent the Evening in cheerful chat with the Ladies. I think I have not had a more sociable & unconstrained feeling since I left Home, & my forgiving Friends.

Wednesday 6.

Ben is making a great Bustle about going to Philadelphia — He almost counts the Hours — We propose to go next Wednesday. But with composure, & Patience, yet with great satisfaction I anticipate the

near approaching Day. *Ben* begs me to acquaint him with the manners of the People in regard to Religion, and he swears he can suit himself to any serious, or formal Visage——

M^{rs} *Carter*, & Miss *Corbin*, after Breakfast rode to Colonel Frank-Lee's¹—— We dine alone. I informed the Colonel that I do not think it will be convenient for me to continue with him longer than one year—— He discovered some dissatisfaction; I told him my reason & he assented—— he honours me, by putting in me so much confidence as to commission me to find out and recommend to Him some young Gentleman to succeed me in the instruction of his Children—— He flattered my vanity also by reading a Letter to me which I am to bear to Dr. *Witherspoon*, the contents of it as follows——

“Robert Carters compliments to Dr. *Witherspoon*; He has the pleasure to acquaint Him that Mr. *Fithians* Method of teaching, & his conduct are highly approved here; He is about to visit his friends in *New-Jersey*, & will bring these from Sir,

Your humble Serv^t ”——

He informed me that he does indeed prefer a Tutor for his Children who has been educated upon the Continent, not on the supposition that such are better Schollars, or that they are of better principles, or of more agreeable Tempers; but only on account of pronunciation in the English Language, (as most of his Children are to be taught chiefly in this) in which he allows young Gentlemen educated in good Schools on the Continent, to excel the Scotch young Gentlemen, & indeed most of the English.—— Evening came in & staid the Night Captain Blackwell.

¹ Francis Lightfoot Lee. See page 98, note 2.

Thursday 7.

Breakfasted with us Miss *Corbin*. The Day pleasant — Mr Carter proposes to set away soon after Dinner — He seems, however, to prepare himself for his Journey with all the sedateness of a philosopher — Besides the Commands he gave me yesterday, he desires me to wait on Mr Willing¹ Merchant in Philadelphia, & know if he will trade here for either Flour or Bread in any Quantity. — He has given Ben & me an Invitation to ride & spend this Evening with him at Colonel *Tayloe's* — We set out about three; Mr *Carter* travels in a small, neat *Chair*, with two waiting Men — We rode across the Country which is now in full Bloom; in every field we saw Negroes planting Corn, or plowing, or hoeing; we arrived at the Colonels about five, Distance twelve miles. Here is an elegant Seat!² — The House is about the size of Mr *Carters*, built with stone, & finished curiously, & ornamented with various paintings, & rich Pictures. This Gentleman owns *Yorick*, who won the prize of 500£ last November, from Dr. Floods Horse Gift — In the Dining-Room, besides many other fine Pieces, are twenty four of the most celebrated among the English Race-Horses, Drawn masterly, & set in elegant

¹ Thomas Willing (1731-1821), partner with Robert Morris in the great house of Willing and Morris; afterwards president of the Bank of North America, and of the Bank of the United States. (*Am. Hist. Review*, V. 5, No. 2, 307, n. 1.)

² Mt. Airy, the beautiful home of the Tayloe family, still stands. It was built in 1750, by Col. John Tayloe, and is one of the handsomest of the old colonial mansions. The interior was destroyed by fire in 1844, but was rebuilt by Mr. William Tayloe within the same walls. Situated upon a high hill in Richmond County, it commands an extensive and beautiful view of the Rappahannock River and surrounding country. More fortunate than many of its neighbours, it is still a family possession, being at present the residence of Mr. Henry Tayloe, a great-grandson of the builder.

gilt Frames. — He has near the great House, two fine two Story stone Houses, the one is used as a Kitchen, & the other, for a nursery, & Lodging Rooms — He has also a large, well formed, beautiful Garden, as fine in every Respect as any I have seen in *Virginia*. In it stand four large beautiful Marble Statues — From this House there is a good prospect of the River *Rapahannock*, which opposite here is about two miles across; We can also from the chambers easily see the Town Hobbes-Hole¹ & the Ships which lie there. I was introduced by M^r Carter to the Colonel, to Miss Polly, & to Miss Kitty² his Daughters — & to a Lady (M^{rs} Thornton) that happened there, & to a young Gentleman, M^r Corbin³ — The young Ladies played several tunes for us, & in good Taste on the *Harpsichord*; We supp'd at nine; and had the usual Toasts.

Fryday 8.

The Ladies before breakfast gave us several tunes on the *Harpsichord* — About ten M^r Carter set out for *Williamsburg*, to the general Court, which sits twice a year, each Time twenty four Days Sundays excluded

¹ The present town of Tappahannock, in Essex County.

² Catherine Tayloe married Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, Richmond County, in 1780. Of the other daughters, 1st, Elizabeth, the eldest, was married in 1767, to Governor Edward Lloyd of Maryland; 2nd, Rebecca, to Francis Lightfoot Lee, in 1769; 3rd, Eleanor, to Ralph Wormly of Middlesex, in 1772; 4th, Ann Corbin, to Thomas Lomax of Caroline, in 1773; 5th, Mary, to Mann Page of Spottsylvania, in 1776; 6th, Catherine, as above; 7th, Jane, to Robert Beverley of Essex, in 1791; 8th, Sarah, to Col. William Augustine Washington of Westmoreland, in 1799. (*Meade's Old Churches and Families*, V. 2, 182.)

³ Probably a son of Richard Corbin of Laneville, who married Elizabeth, sister of Col. John Tayloe of the Council.

—— We had some agreeable conversation this morning; Horses seem to be the Colonels favourite topic —— He inquired of me however, where I was born; where educated; & if I am pleased with *Virginia* —— He told me he saw Dr Witherspoon¹, & conversed with him an Evening last Fall, & is much pleased with his manner, & Qualities —— He informed me that Dr Morgan² of Philadelphia breakfasted with him a few Days ago; he calls the Doctor facetious, sensible, & prudent. The Colonel desired me to enquire for some Gentleman of undoubted ability to teach in a Family —— I shall apply to Mr *Saml Leek* jun'r³ & if he declines I will look no further —— Ben & I took our Leave about Eleven, and returned Home —— The Day is cloudy and cold, the wind hard at North, & threatens Snow —— This evening Ben met with a sad repulse; Mrs *Carter* proposes going to Williamsburg soon, & says she must have his company! Poor Boy, he feels the Force of Disappointment! And I confess I am a little vexed.

¹ Dr. John Witherspoon came to this country from Scotland in 1768, to accept the presidency of Princeton College, which office he held until his death, in 1794. He was a member of Congress almost continuously from 1776 to 1783, and a signer and strong advocate of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation.

² Dr. John Morgan, F.R.S., one of the founders of the medical school at Philadelphia and one of its first and most eminent professors. Appointed by Congress director-general of the military hospitals, and physician-in-chief (1775-1777) to the American army.

³ This Samuel Leake was the best scholar of the class of 1774, then about to graduate at Princeton, and had been appointed by the faculty to deliver the Latin Salutatory, but the choice was vacated by the board of trustees on the ground that he had been active "In publicly burning the effigy of Governor Hutchinson, and also insulting an honourable member of this Board, for endeavouring in a very becoming manner to prevent the said riotous proceedings." (*Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Princeton College*, April 19th, 1774.) See Maclean's *History of the College of New Jersey*, V. 1, 318.

Saturday 9.

M^{rs} Carter gave Ben liberty to go with me as far as Anopolis, provided we set out soon, & accordingly we propose to set off to-morrow or Monday morning, I begin therefore to prepare for the Ride. The Day is rainy & cold; & I am in a vastly disagreeable Humour.

Sunday 10.

M^{rs} Carter yesterday, in the Character of a truly fond Mother, altered her mind concerning *Ben* many Times and in several different manners: At first she agreed for him to go with me as far as Anopolis without a waiting Man; then she concluded he was not well and had better decline going entirely; towards Evening she gave him full liberty if he will take a Waiting-Man; & will not set away till Monday morning; This I urged not being pleased from the Beginning with going on the Sabbath — I gave yesterday to the Shoemaker a Bit — & a Bit to the Wash woman; half a Bit to her little Girl; & half a Bit to *Nelson* the Boy who waits on our School; the whole 1/11½.

This morning is extremely pleasant the Country full of Flowers, & the branches full of lovely singing Birds. — Before Breakfast I saw a Ring of Negroes at the Stable, fighting Cocks, and in several parts of the plantation they are digging up their small Lots of ground allow'd by their Master for Potatoes, peas, &c; All such work for themselves they constantly do on Sundays, as they are otherwise employed on every other Day. Sermon to Day, is at Ucomico, too far for my Horse immediately before his Journey — Neither M^{rs} Carter nor any of the Family go — At Dinner I received a Letter from M^r Lowe, with his Testimonial from the College in Edinburg which I am to present

to the Presbytery of Philadelphia and if it shall be accepted, I am to bring such Exercises as they may appoint.

Monday 11.

Bens Mare lame; Nat must stay, Ben & I set out at eight Rode by Westmoreland Court-House, Mattox Church; fed at Mattox-Bridge, Rode by round-hill Church, to Taylors Ferry by three o-Clock 36 Miles — passed over the Ferry 7 Miles Ferriage $6\frac{1}{2}$ — At a small House in Virginia for a gallon of Corn $1\frac{1}{4}$. — At a small Tavern at the Ferry on the Maryland side Expence $/9$ rode from thence three Miles to Squire Lees¹ who has the Naval office here — Spent the Evening with young M^r Lee, Miss Lee, Miss Booth, & Miss Washington — Toasts — I gave Miss Nancy Galloway — Between the Ferry and M^r Lees we passed through four gates.

Teusday 12.

Up soon, expence to Boy $/3$. Rode to Port Tobacco, 13 Miles good road — Fine Hill near the town; between M^r Lees & Port Tobacco 13 Gates — This is a small Town of not more than twenty or twenty-five Houses, mostly of one story — Expence for a gallon of Oats $/8$, for bitters $/4$, the Day fine Rode thence to Piscataway; the road good 15 Gates²

¹ This was Richard Lee, eldest son of Philip Lee, and first cousin to Richard Henry Lee. He resided in Charles County, Maryland, and was a member of the Proprietors Council in 1755. His wife was Grace Ashton, daughter of Col. Henry Ashton of Westmoreland County, Virginia.

² In those days country roads were not fenced on both sides, and as they mostly ran through rich farming lands, the farmers gates were a great annoyance to the traveller. It is related of a certain dame of the period (Mrs. George Turberville of Peckatone, mentioned elsewhere in this volume), noted for her sprightly temper, that when setting abroad, she was wont to arm her out-riders with axes and with orders to remove all obstructions. (See Lee's *Lee of Virginia*, p. 84.)

—many fine streams of pure water—and many beautiful hills— This is a small Town of low Houses not more than two in it two Stories High; It lies however in a fine rich valey—Expençe for Dinner, Wine & Oats 4/- from Piscataway we rode to upper Marlborough the road something hilly, we passed through 15 Gates, two elegant Seats M^r Wests & M^r Diggs¹—arrived at Marlborough by six it is a pleasant level spot, 16 Miles from Alexandria—they have a Presbyterian Meeting-House which M^r Hunt supplies— They have a latin School also here; & an elegant Ball-Room— Piscataway is seven miles from Alexandria. In bed by nine.

Wednesday 13.

Up early, the morning fine. Expençe here 4/11 Rode thence through a pleasant country four miles to a small Ferry over Patuxen, Ferriage -/6. then twelve Miles to South River three quarters of a Mile over Ferriage /6^d. then we rode thro a piny sandy road four miles to Anopolis 32 Gates— This is a pleasant situated Town; the Inhabitants appear gay & cheerful— I put up at the Coffee-House— An agreeable Woman keeps it Expençe to a Barber for shaving & dressing 1/6— For oats Coffee &c 3/1— To Boy -/10. I roved through the Town til five then I entered into a Boat the wind South West & Sailed over the Bay for *Rock-Hall* distance 25 miles—the Boats are extremely good, well built, & strongly manned, & indeed there is need, for the Bay is broad, & often boistrous; we arrived at Rock Hall by half after nine; I was very sick on the passage, & I never was sick

¹ Probably that of Ignatius Digges of Prince George County, Maryland, whose daughter Mary married Governor Thomas Sim Lee. October 27th 1777

before on the water — The ferriage here for a Man & Horse is 15/ — To the Ferry Man for a Quart of Rum 1/3. And for my footing never having crossed the ferry before I paid 1/-. The whole expence of this Day is 1£ 8^s 7^d.

Thursday 14.

The morning fine, I have from this place a view of the broad Chesapeek — Expence here for Tea in the Evening, Oats Cordial &c 4/10. set away half after Six — To Boy ./3 Rode from Rock Hall over a delightful part of the country to Chester-Town 13 Miles — this is a beautiful small Town on a River out of the Bay navigable for Ships. The Situation is low & I apprehend it is subject to summer Fevers — It has an elegant I may say grand Court-House, in which is the town Clock — M^r Wall the Comedian, has been for several Evenings past exhibiting Lectures in Electricity, & I understand with some considerable applause. They have a lottery here on foot & to be drawn in May next for to assist them in building a market-House Town-Wharf &c. — I Breakfast here, & feed, Expence 2/3. to Boy ./2d — In this Town & the neighbouring Country rages at present a malignant, putrid Fever, & what is generally called the spotted Fever! — From chester Town I rode to George-Town, 16 miles — The Land level, fertile, & vastly pleasant — In this Town I visited M^r Voorhees, an eminent Merchant here, & he seems to be a Gentleman of peculiar smartness Industry & Aconomy — The Fever I now mentioned, is also here, & the whooping-Cough is very general & malignant — I lodged with this Gentleman — We had Evening prayers — Since I left Cohansie I have not heard the like — This is

a small Town, & lies on a fine River, which divides it from another small Town directly opposite call'd Frederick.

Fryday 15.

I rose early — After Breakfast I rode to see Miss *Rachel Stocktin*, now M^{rs} *Ryley* ; She lives on this River, about a mile higher up, in a large very elegant brick House, in considerable grandeur — Poor Girl She herself is much indisposed either of a bad Cold, (as She thinks) or of this epidemical Fever; M^{rs} *Ryley* introduced me ceremoniously to Miss *Ryley* her Husbands Sister. She has a small handsome Fortune, & is perhaps agreeable — I returned to Town, & dined with M^r *Voorhees*, & immediately after crossed over the Ferry for *Port-Penn*. Expence at *George-Town* for my Horse $2/3$ to Boy $./4$. I rode next to a small village called *Warwick*, a pitiful place indeed — Expence here $1/11$ Boy $./2$. then I rode on to *Port-Penn*, the Country beautiful, the Land apparently very rich, the Timber strait & large; I entered *Port-Penn* just as the Sun went down, but could not prevail with the Ferry-Man to carry me over before the morning — In *George-Town* I was told the following distressing News ; that D^r *Ward*, & my Aunt *Fithian* of *Cohansie* are both Dead; that my Aunt died in a very sudden unusual manner! — That Miss *Polly Bullock* of *Philadelphia* is dying in a Consumption! — In the Evening I called in to see M^r *Steward* an ancient gray headed, wealthy Gentleman in *Port-Penn*, who, by some Weakness in his Back, has been unable to walk at all for four years, he is hearty, religious, cheerful, seemed much pleased, & thanked me often for calling to see him, & desired by me his kindest Compliments

to Mr Hunters Family——I spend the Evening alone with quiet & content.——In Bed by nine——

Saturday 16.

I rose early, & expected to pass soon over the Ferry——The wind moderate at North West but the boat is aground, & I must wait until eleven, when She is expected to float——I was much alarmed in the night, thinking I had in Maryland taken the putrid Fever; I lay sleepless, felt feverish, had pains in my Head——But I feel wholly relieved this morning. At twelve the Boat came——We run over——Expence at *Port-Penn* 4/8. Ferriage 5/-. Once more through Gods Mercy in New-Jersey. The Favours of God our common Parent are innumerable, & great beyond our merit——I rode with Pleasure from Elsenborough to Greenwich; I stopt to see the forsaken M^{rs} Ward; She seems to be truly distress'd! I arrived by Sunset at my Uncles he also seems much afflicted, with his Loss——He informed me that many have Died in the Neighbourhood of Greenwich this winter. D^r Ward, Squire Millar, M^r Boy'd Merchant——Aunt Fithian, aunt Ware, Rachel Peck, Rachel Ware, David Hills, M^{rs} Mills &c. a very Mortal Winter!

Sunday 17.

The morning vastly pleasant, & Cohansie looks as delightful as ever it used I went to meeting, How unlike *Virginia*, no rings of Beaux chatting before & after Sermon on Gallantry; no assembling in crowds after Service to dine & bargain; no cool, spiritless harangue from the Pulpit; Minister & people here seem in some small measure to reverence the Day, there neither do the one or the other——I spent the day at Home.

Monday 18.

I took a tour over to Town before dinner to see old acquaintances. The Neighbourhood looks in nothing altered M^r *Potter* took home my Brother Amos with an intention if it shall suit to learn him the Storekeeping business—— Afternoon I rode to M^r Hunters—— And in the Evening with Andrew to Deerfield, spent the Evening til ten at M^r Greens in company with the amiable Miss Beatty—— M^{rs} Green is much indisposed, has lately had a daughter—— The School here is at the present time larger than it has ever been; there are now seven viz. John Leek, Reading-Beatty¹, James & John Ramsey, Stephen Ranney, Seeley Fithian, & Thomas Greenman—— We rode to M^{rs} *Pecks*. Joseph since I left home, has married M^{rs} *Hannah*.

Tuesday 19.

Rose at six. Breakfasted with M^{rs} *Peck*. Soon after we again visited M^r Green—— I spent the Day most agreeably. Kind Heaven has indulg'd my wish;—— In the Evening I went up and staid the Night at M^{rs} *Pecks*.

Wednesday 20.

Soon after breakfast I rode home and visited several of my acquaintances—— I had my Hair cut short—— Feel myself much indisposed. Looked over, sorted & adjusted my Books——

¹ Reading Beatty was a Brother of Elizabeth Beatty. He served during the first two years of the Revolution in the Fifth Pennsylvania battalion, and was captured at Fort Washington and confined on the "Myrtle," prison ship; was afterward released and received a commission from Congress as surgeon, which post he held until the end of the war.

Thursday 21.

Spent all this day in preparing for my approaching examination before the Rev^d Presbytery — I am to review Greek Testament — Moral & Natural Philosophy — Logic — Geography And if I have time I must look over the Lattin Classics.

Fryday 22.

Rode to the Stage early for the Papers thence I went to M^r Hunters where I met with that great master of music, M^r Lyon¹ — He sung at my request, & sings with his usual softness & accuracy — He is about publishing a new Book of Tunes which are to be chiefly of his own Composition — He has removed out of Halifax into the Northern part of New-England, but poor Man, since he left Cohansie he has felt the hardy arm of want! — I returned towards Evening but promised first to visit him again to-morrow afternoon.

Saturday 23.

At home drawing off some of M^r Lyons Tunes, & revising my own Exercises — The morning pleasant but the weather dry. Afternoon according to appointment I visited M^r Lyon at M^r Hunters. He sings with great accuracy. I sung with him many of his Tunes & had much Conversation on music, he is vastly fond of music & musical genius's We spent the Evening with great satisfaction to me.

¹ This was James Lyon, who graduated from Princeton College in 1759, and who compiled and published a large collection of church music, entitled *Urania, or a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns*. (Henry Dawkins, Phila., 1761.) The work was not a financial success though its list of subscribers numbered one hundred and forty-two, among whom officers and students of Princeton College were most numerous represented. (See Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America*, pp. 40-43.)

Sunday 24.

I left M^r: Hunters Early. I wrote a line to Miss Beatty, for a excuse for not seeing her yesterday. Attended Sermon at Greenwich. I rode in the Evening to the Bridge to hear M^r: Green, my old, much respected Tutor preach, he came & delivered himself admirably without making Use of Notes at all. I staid the Night at M^r: Seeleys, visited M^{rs} Ramsey, & D^r: Elmer & spoke with many of my acquaintances——

Monday 25.

I breakfasted with M^{rs} Ramsey, then rode to M^{rs} Boyds, & by M^r: Ewing I was introduced to herself & her two Daughters Miss *Matty* & Miss *Sally*——I had heard that this family is genteel, industrious & religious. I saw now & believed it——Lately, by a sore stroke of providence, M^r: Boyd the Head has been removed by Death!——

Left M^{rs} Boyds & rode to Ephraim Seeleys jun^r:——then about Eleven rode to Deerfield; dined with M^r: Green. I had the pleasure to spend the afternoon and evening with Miss Beatty.

Teusday 26.

Visited M^r: Nathan Leek, he seems to be still loquacious, & historical——He gave me a long and full account of the present difference between M^r: *Hunter*, *Greenman*, & *Brown*,——He told me Likewise the Begining & continuation of the quarrel of the Magistrates-freeholders, & other officers about raising money by taxation for repairing Cohansie-Bridge——After Dinner, with Miss *Beatty* I rode and visited M^{rs} Boyd.

Wednesday 27.

John Peck¹ agreed to succeed me at M^r Carters in Virginia I spoke to M^r Samuel Leek jun^r concerning M^r Tayloes proposal; he is doubtful about an answer

Paid John Peck for postage of my Letter to him last Winter 4/- Bought a watch-seal 1/. Rode to Greenwich after Dinner.

Thursday 28.

I waited on the Miss Boyds to day to *Hollinsheads*, New-England-Town. His Family are in good health; there I saw the amiable Miss *Debby Pratt* — M^r *Hollinshead* informed me that the Presbytery have been only a little pleased with the Examination of Messrs. ——— probably mine will be worse! Returned to M^{rs} Boyds in the Evening.

Fryday 29.

I rode to M^r Green's after breakfast — M^r Dicky Howel came in; we spent the afternoon & Evening with M^r Green & Miss Beatty; M^r Green is, to be sure, vastly sensible, very intelligible, dry, witty, satirical, yet good and exceeding agreeable.

Saturday 30.

Breakfasted with the Parson — Rode home soon after breakfast — proceeded in preparing for the near approaching examination — The latter part of this Day very stormy.

SUNDAY May 1st 1774.

Very cool the wind violent at North West — I spent the morning in looking over the Greek-Testa-

¹ See page 47, note 2.

ment — To day preached for us M^r Aiken. He seems to be much applauded by the People.

Monday 2.

Very early I rode over to M^r Holinshead's at Miss Pratts request to carry her to M^r Hoshels to be ready to-morrow morning for the Stage — We rode to the Bridge & dined at M^{rs} Boyds — After dinner we rode to M^r Hoshels — Miss *Debby Pratt* according to her general character, is in every measure what I have said somewhere before, *Genteel, modest, Religious, & cheerful.*

Tuesday 3.

I conducted Miss Pratt to the Stage this morning by five and took my leave — I immediately after returned to the Bridge, thence to M^r Holinsheads by eight o Clock — Returned home by twelve.

Wednesday 4.

Last night & this morning fell a very considerable Snow, so much that I imagine had it not melted after it fell it would have been six inches deep! — Afternoon I walked to Deerfield — Miss Beatty a little — thoughtful.

Thursday 5.

At the Bridge before noon to agree with M^r Potter about taking my Brother Amos prentice — We put it off some Days — Expence for a Watch Key ./9. Last night was very cold; I shall scarce be believed if I say that I saw, handled, & measured Ice this morning two Inches thick!

Fryday 6.

Still very cold. To Day is the fast before Sacrament. M^r Hunter gave us two Sermons. The leaves on the Trees are grown black, the Fruit must be past recovery, probably the Flax too.

Saturday 7.

I did several errands for myself in Greenwich — Before Noon M^r Patterson call'd to see me; .He is shortly to be married to Miss Amy Ewing — She is a Girl of Reading, Taste, & Delicacy; has a good share of personal Beauty, open, sociable, & kind in her manner, and on the whole agreeable — M^r Paterson seemed always to me formal, has a peculiar, universal Fondness for the Fair is a great mathematician, a good English Scholar & Philosopher, & is frugal & industrious. I rode with M^r Patterson to M^r Hunters, he informed me many things concerning the new School or small Academy lately instituted at Wilmington, in which he is second Master. Evening I wrote a sentimental Letter to Miss *Beatty*.

Sunday 8.

To day at Greenwich was administered, & I received the holy Sacrament — Grant, great God, that I may have been a worthy communicant! I dined with M^{rs} Ward. She speaks with great Respect, Affection, and Sincerity of her late worthy Partner.

Monday 9.

Til Eleven I am busy in looking over Exercises for the approaching Presbytery. After Dinner I made M^{rs} Brewster a Visit. M^r Ben Peck in my opinion is rashly entering on an important matter; he is going to

begin in a few Days the Study of Phisic under the direction of D^r Bowen, whose knowledge & Practice, by those who are in fact Judges in the Art seems to be wholly exploded. There is a report that M^{rs} Brewster is in prospect of being married to a gentleman from Maryland; She talks freely of it, says She can fancy him; that he is a man of Fortune, of character & to her agreeable — But there is one She regards more who has left her, however, without hope! —

Teusday 10.

Yesterday, in a private lonely manner, at nine in the morning, were married M^r Patterson & Miss Amy Ewing. I wish them from my heart a long, unbroken, & strong friendship for each other, & mutual, unmixed happiness. After breakfast according to a previous appointment, I rode to Deerfield Dine at M^{rs} Pecks. I am ashamed that I may record here what does no honour to my old Aunt, I saw her with three Partners round a Table playing Cards at that vulgar game fit only for the meanest gamblers “all Fours”¹ — At three I visited Miss *Beatty* that amiable Girl, I always see with pleasure, am happy where She is & feel uneasy & disturbed always when I must leave her. Since June in the year 1770 I have had an acquaintance with her — & since May in the year 1771 I have happily had an Intimacy. Her Goodness has at length indulged my importunate Solicitations & in her Society I hope to be happy — I spent the Evening til eleven with her, & in the most entertaining manner, M^r Howel & M^r John Peck call'd in a small Time.

¹ This game derives its name from the four chances therein, for each of which a point is scored; it is now commonly called “Seven-Up.”

Wednesday 11.

I rose a little after seven. It is not my custom to lie in bed so long, but I was with Lazy Boys, *Reading Beatty*, and *Stephen Ranney*. M^{rs} Green is better, but Miss *Beatty* says she has the *Hipp*——Soon after breakfast I returned Home——M^{rs} Pecks Family, M^r Howel, & Miss Beatty at the same time set out on a visit to M^r Hoshels. There came a report to Day that M^r Stephen Reeve Silver Smith of Philadelphia is broken up, & has left the City; disagreeable News this to his Relations here——There was an Ox killed this Day at Bridge-Town which weighed upwards of a thousand weight, supposed to be the largest ever kill'd in the County.

Thursday 12.

I wrote a chronological Letter to Miss *Beatty*. Spent the Day at home. Feel pensive on leaving Cohansie.

Fryday 13.

I rode before Dinner to M^r *Hunters*. Andrew is finishing his Exercises for the Presbytery——M^{rs} Hunter advised me to shew my Pieces to M^r *Hunter* for correction I agreed——Four o Clock I rode to the Bridge, drank Tea with M^{rs} Boyd. They are Girls of great prudence, & good breeding——

Saturday 14.

After breakfast I wrote a private Letter to *Laura*. before Dinner rode to M^r *Hunters* gave him my Pieces; he examined them, made some small alterations, & advised me to present them to the Presbytery——Took my Leave of several Friends in Greenwich.

Sunday 15.

I wrote a Letter to Dr Beatty, & a Letter to Charles Beatty¹ of the Junior Class at Nassau Hall—— To Day is the yearly Meeting with the Baptists—— Last Evening was the first thunder Gust we have had this Season, it was not however Severe. Mr James Ward was excommunicated this Day from our Church.

Monday 16.

We set out for Philadelphia from Mr Hunters by five. Expencc by the way 3/6. In Town by five.

Teusday 17.

Took lodgings at Mr^s Cheesmans——Expencc for a Register 3/9.——Spoke for a mourning Ring. Motto I. & H. ob: Feb: 1772.

Met in Presbytery eleven at A. M.——Business of last Session looked over, at one adjourn'd til three——at three met, Mr Evans pronounced his first exercise a Sermon, length an hour——After him Mr Keith produced his length 44 Minutes. Afternoon I spent several hours with the Misses Sprouts

¹ Charles Clinton Beatty, brother to Elizabeth and Reading Beatty, was graduated at Princeton in 1775, and seems to have early imbibed the principles of liberty, while at that institution. Writing under date of January, 1774, he says: "Last week to show our patriotism, we gathered all the Steward's winter store of Tea, and having made a fire in the Campus, we then burned near a dozen pounds, tolled the bell, and made many spirited resolves. But this was not all. Poor Mr. (Gov.) Hutchinson's Effigy shared the same fate with the Tea; having a Tea canister tied about his neck." This was the escapade, for his share in which Samuel Leake lost his appointment as Latin Salutatorian, before alluded to (p. 150, note 3). Charles Beatty obtained a commission at the outbreak of the Revolution in a Pennsylvania regiment, probably Wayne's, as he was with that officer on his expedition to Canada, in 1776. He was killed by the accidental discharge of a musket, in the hands of a friend, in the spring of 1776.

Wednesday 18.

I passed my first examination before the Presbytery; after which I read my thesis & Sermon both of which were accepted — In this examination I was questioned on my personal Religion, & on the Latin, & Greek Languages. I spent the evening at M^r Armitages.

Thursday 19.

Waited on the Synod — Preparing to set out tomorrow — Visited several Ladies — Spent the afternoon agreeably with the Miss Holinsheads — Evening I visited Miss Bedford — Waited on D^r Witherspoon on Colonel Carters & on M^r Lowes account.

Fryday 20.

Before noon I waited on the agreeable Miss *Debby Pratt*. I spoke with Miss Sally Boyd. Afternoon I took my Leave at M^r McCalla's, & M^{rs} Cheesmans where I lodge — At six with Miss *Ruth Webster*, her Sister *Althee*, & Betsy, & Polly Armitage I walked to a lovely Garden near the Hospital call'd Lebanon, drank some Mead & had a most agreeable Ramble — At ten the same Evening I entered on Board the *Swallow* Captain Balinger for Cohansie —

Saturday 21.

I waked & found myself only a little below the Fort — The morning pleasant — The Wind a head — I wrote a Letter on Board to Johnny Peck to acquaint him with D^r Witherspoons Opinion — I wrote also to Miss *Webster*, About five in the evening we anchored off *Marcus Hook*, we went on Shore Drank a bowl of punch with M^r Andrew Ferguson who

has lately moved here — He informed me that two young Gentlemen of Fashion & Substance in Town are making their addresses to *Laura* — She is worthy the Regard of the most worthy on Earth.

Sunday 22.

I found myself this morning a few miles above Port Penn. Perfectly calm — I wrote a Letter this morning to Miss Beatty — The *Sea Nymph* Captain Blewer came in Sight, M^r Cook & M^r Howel are passengers — About twelve a Breese sprung up at South — & with the Tide we entered our Creek by four, & I was at Home by five — Spent the evening in writing —

Monday 23.

Busy in getting ready to set away. Wrote a Letter to D^r Beatty — & one to Miss Pratt. The morning warm. I took my leave of the People in town of my acquaintance & set out for Virginia a little after noon — M^r Donaldson is very ill — There are strange and ridiculous reports concerning him — That he has sent since his illness to M^r Ewing to be married to Tempy Fithian —

Left Home about two o Clock — at the Ferry by five. The Boat is on the other side — Half after five she set off, the wind fair over by half after six — We left the shore at Seven. The wind light at West North West before we were over the wind fell — I was obliged to take to the Oar — & pull like a Turk — The flood strong against us — I rowed thus a full hour — My poor hands when I got ashore were sore enough — I was set ashore more than a mile above *Port Penn* — Had to ride down on high rotten Bank

through the dark — Once I got mired — On the whole it has been the worst adventure I have had in my travels — I reached the Tavern in Port Penn by half after Nine. Call'd for half a Gill of bitters to qualify my humours; & a dish of Tea to cheer me, & soon to Bed. Feriage 5/.

Tuesday 24.

The morning pleasant & cool. Expence at *Port Penn*, 3/- Rode thence by the Trap five miles thence to middleton five miles. Thence to Warwick four miles. Here I breakfasted. Expence for myself & Horse 1/7. — Thence I rode to George Town. Expence for Oats -/6^d — Thence I rode to *New-Town* fifteen Miles expence for — 2/ — For having my Coat altered in the Sleeves and Shoulders 2/- Expence for a pair of black worsted Stockings 6/ — Mr *Stephen Reeve* is in George Town Working for Money to Gamble — This evening I feel more fatigued & dispirited than since I first went to Virginia —

Wednesday 25.

Expence at Newtown 4/9. Rode before Breakfast to Rock-Hall the morning rainy — The Day calm & (hard Disappointment) I must stay til tomorrow! — My Land-Lord invited me to a race about four miles off, & as the day grew better I went; the Purse was fifty Dollars, I was surprised to see that almost, I think quite one third of the People were in mourning — A discouraging aspect for one who has any intention to settle in this part of Maryland, but none to leave the World — Many who wore black & scarfs I took notice swore most desperately! — Not Death the formidable King of terrors can frighten men from provoking God

by Sin! — Afternoon I was troubled with a Tooth Ach — I returned about two — Laid down til six — Slept but little — A thousand things perplex me, I am unwilling to leave Home. — I have already overstaid my Time — I am vexed at having to continue here — I have left the Girl I love — I am keeping myself out of publick business — O ten thousand difficulties embarrass me! — Heavenly Father, to thee in trouble I fly, comfort, sustain, guide & uphold me — Evening Seven Gentlemen came in — They went to Cards — I to Bed — Troubled much with a Tooth Ach —

Thursday 26.

Slept but little — Breakfasted — Set off at seven — four in company expence 26/6. Arrived at Annopolis — Bought at Annopolis a pair of buckles 2/9. Expence -/10^d — Left Annapolis at five for Marlborough — Ferriage -/6^d — Rode to a point of Patuxen 22 Miles — Tooth Ach still troubles me — In Bed by eleven, tired and discouraged!

Fryday 27.

Expence at this little Town 2/9 — Ferriage a full mile up the River Patuxen 1/. Rode from the River to upper Marlborough three miles thence without stopping to Piscatuway 15 miles — Here I dined — My pain has wholly left me — Two young Ladies Daughters of the Landlady, rather gay & noisy than discreet, very forward in discourse, both in Love with Scotch Merchants & both willing to be talked to, gave me much Diversion — Expence here 3/4 — Rode thence in the Evening to Port Tobacco 15 miles. Staid here the night — For company all the night in my Room I

had Bugs in every part of my Bed — & in the next Room several noisy Fellows playing at Billiards.

Saturday 28.

Left Port Tobacco by six, rode to M^{rs} Laidlers Ferry. At Port Tobacco expence 3/10. 12 Miles Breakfasted with M^{rs} Laidler Breakfast & Oats 1/7 Ferriage 6/- The broad beautiful Potowmack looks smooth & unbroken as tho' it was fettered in Ice; it is to where we land on the other Side eight miles a little down the River the passage over, in the best time of this loveliest month was vastly agreeable — From Tylers in Virginia where I landed about twelve o-Clock I rode to Mattox Bridge eight miles; thence to Mattox Church six miles — Here I bought some Ears of corn for my Horse — Thence to Westmorland Court House 16 miles — Here is a Tavern I got a Bowl of Punch & fed 2/6 — Thence I rode to Nomini Hall about Eight in the Evening 10 miles — I found M^r & M^{rs} Carter at home sitting together — They received me with great welcome — *Ben, Bob, Miss Fanny & Betsy* came in to see me — The others in bed — sup'd on *Crabs* & an elegant dish of Strawberries & cream — How natural, how agreeable, how majestic this place seems!

Sunday 29.

I rose by half after six — Ben informed me that Bob has behaved vastly ill since I left him — He has reported several mischievous & false stories of his brother; that has been intimate in some bad families — That he has injured his own fathers Servants &c — The morning pleasant — I did not attend Church, Ben out of kindness kept me company at Home — I

NORTHERN NECK OF VIRGINIA

(From chart of Virginia in *Jefferson's Notes* 1801)



had however chosen to stay alone — The family is invited to dine with M^r Turburville — M^r & M^{rs} *Carter*, Miss Priscilla & Nancy with three Servants went from Church — *Ben, Bob*, Miss *Fanny, Betsy & Harriot* with two Servants cross'd the River — Miss *Sally* with *Tasker* & one Servant rode in a Chair — Dined with us Captain Dennis, of the Ship *Peggy*; D^r *Step-toe*;¹ & M^r *Cunningham*. Politicks were the topic — and indeed the Gentlemen seemed warm — The Governor of this Province dissolved the Assembly last week after they had made a resolve that a general & solemn fast be observed thro' this whole Colony, on Account of the melancholy aspect of American Affairs at present, to be kept the first day of June, which is next Wednesday, when the alarming act of Parliament which has lately come over is to take place at Boston² — Parson Smith accordingly gave it out at the Church to Day & it is to be observed — I only saw Miss Sally Panton, she did not dine with us — I am told she has an Estate in England of 50£ Sterling pr. Annum, but for some unknown cause came over, probably the same as drew me from home — After dinner we had a Grand & agreeable Walk in & through the Garden — There is great plenty of Strawberries, some Cherries, Gooseberries &c — Drank Coffee at

¹ A brother-in-law of Philip Ludwell Lee.

² The Boston Port Bill went into operation on June 1, 1774. On May 24, 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a resolution expressing sympathy with the people of Boston, and declaring it "highly necessary that the said first day of June next be set apart by the members of this house as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war." In consequence of this act, Governor Dunmore on the following day dissolved the house. (*Am. Hist. Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 309, n. 1.)

four, they are now too patriotic to use tea — Soon after we set out for Home — The young Ladies chose to walk and Cross the water with us — I am much more pleas'd with the Face of the Country since my return than I have ever been before — It is indeed delightful! —

Monday 30.

Our little beautiful Seminary collected. They seem all glad to see me, & willing to enter on business — I am truly fond of the young growing beauties — Soon they will be the admiration of the world, & ornaments in their family — This morning I asked & received four Guineas of M^r Carter to satisfy M^r Taylor of whom I had a small Sum. M^r Randolph is yet here, & is recovered of the hurt I formerly mentioned — After Dinner my Toast was the amiable *Laura* — Evening called in & staid only a few minutes Captain Dennis & Parson Gibbern — At Supper I had an agreeable conversation with M^r & M^{rs} Carter on the *Times manners*, &c.

Teusday 31.

Very warm — I feel well reliev'd of the Fatigues of my ride — The lower Class of People here are in a tumult on the account of Reports from Boston, many of them expect to be press'd & compelled to go and fight the Britains! — Evening I asked the Colonel if he proposes to observe the fast, & attend Sermon tomorrow; he answered that “No one must go from hence to Church, or observe the fast at all” — By this, (for it is hard to know his opinion from any thing he declares) I conclude he is a courtier — Last Night, & this evening the Colonel sup'd with us, which is

more than he has done before since I have been in Family ——

WEDNESDAY June 1st, 1774.

Cool & pleasant —— I began my English Exercise —— or Thesis.

Thursday 2.

I took out of the Colonels Library for Assistance in making my pieces Biblia-Sacra, & Mr. Hammonds Exposition of the New Testament. I toasted *Beatty* to day in a Bumper of old Madaira —— Evening Mr. Carter at the Harpsichord.

Fryday 3.

The dancing School happens in course to day Mr. Washingtons¹ —— Mr. Carter takes *Bob & Nancy* her —— Our School seems silent —— Writing at English Thesis —— I put *Harry & Bob* this week read Popes Homer but Homers inimitable fire can charm or move them! —— Evening *Ben* rode to Dance —— We were informed that in Queen-Anns Maryland many die at present, of a Fever that follows a slight Ague! —— I took a Ramble, in the evening as usual, through the Garden.

Saturday 4.

The day cool & agreeable —— I kept the children in til twelve tho' with great difficulty; they were asserting their liberty. & pleaded the custom of winter —— I finished a rough incorrect plan of English Thesis, & laid it by for future examination After dinner I begun the Lecture, wrote an intro

¹ John Augustine Washington of Bushfield.

tion——Towards evening I took my hat & a sermon, & retired to a Shady Green where I rambled about til dusk committing my Sermon to memory——We have omitted Supper, & in its place substituted Coffee which we commonly take about seven in the evening——Ben, this Afternoon rode to Colonel Frank Lee's. The ground is very dry; The Frost of the fourth of May has been much more severe and fatal here than in the northern colonies——The peaches here, except on Farms lying near the Potowmack are wholly destroy'd, and these were the choicest expectation of some, who think Brandy their most valuable commodity!——And I am told that in Louden, & the other upper counties, (which indeed are the best for grain) Wheat & Rice are cut off, so intirely that the owners mow it down for fodder!——And in these lower Counties in many places the Woods appear like November, & the Leaves are actually dropping!——To be sure it is unusual & melancholy!——

Sunday 5.

The weather cool & agreeable——Sermon is to Day at Ucomico, at the lower church, I choose therefore to stay in my Room——How pleasant is retirement! And how easy it is to enjoy it——This may seem strange, but it is true——I have but very few acquaintances, & they easily dispence with my Absence——I have an elegant inviting apartment for Study——I have plenty of valuable & entertaining Books——And I have business of my own that requires my attention——At Home my Relations call me proud and morose if I do not visit them——My own private business often calls me off & unsettles my mind——There too lives the Girl who has subdued my heart!——All

these put together, when they operate at once, are a strong incitement to divert me from Study. Yet I love Cohansie! And in spite of my resolution, when I am convinced that my situation is more advantageous here, yet I wish to be there — How exceedingly capricious is fancy! When I am Home I then seem willing to remove, for other places seem full as desirable — It is then Society which makes places seem agreeable or the Contrary — It can be nothing else — Adam when he had no troublesome painful thoughts within him; and had a flowery Paradise for his habitation & enjoyment, was not yet fully happy while he possessed it alone; much less can we his offspring, frail, & variable, enjoy much satisfaction without intercourse with one another — I have just spoken in praise of Society & retirement, And I now observe we are of such a make that, if we be happy, these must alternately succeed each other — It is something like the opinion of *Socrates* concerning pleasure & pain, that if we possess the one, we may expect it will not be long before we shall meet with the other — Towards evening At M^{rs} Carters request I waited on Miss *Priscilla*, *Nancy*, & *Fanny* who rode on Horse-back for an airing — Wrote a Letter to the Rev^d M^r Andrew Hunter, Cohansie New Jersey — In the evening *Ben* returned full of news of *Boston*, that we must fight that the troops are arrived & impudent &c. &c.

Monday 6.

M^r *Carter* rode to richmond court — At Dinner I had a long and useful conversation with M^{rs} Carter She told me openly & candidly the Several failings of her Children, and indeed She knows them perfectly — In particular she knows not what to do with her

perverse Son *Bob* — He abuses his Mama, Miss Sally, the children, Family, and is much given to slander. Poor unhappy youth, I fear he will come to an unhappy end! This afternoon I found it necessary to correct Bob severely for impertinence in School — M^r Carter at Court received his Invoice from London for this Spring, in which was a gold Seal for *Ben* with a Coat of Arms price five Guineas! —

Teusday 7.

The morning pleasant, cool & agreeable — I corrected Harry this morning for telling me a Lie — Stomachful & sullen as any youth — The day warm but very bearable — Breakfasted with us M^r Blain & M^r Warden, all the conversation is Politicks; But People seem moderate & yet settled in their determination to stand out.

Wednesday 8.

The morning pleasant — M^r *Carter* rode to the Ucomiko Ware-houses to examine in the Shipping some of his Tobacco — We have no Company. The day is very warm — A flaming sultry Sun, a dusty scorched Ground, M^r *Carter* returned, the day being smoky introduced, at Coffee, a conversation on Philosophy, on Eclipses; the manner of reviewing them; Thence to Telescopes, & the information which they afford us of the Solar System; Whether the planets be actually inhabited &c.

Thursday 9.

The morning is hazy, no Wind, & very warm — I wrote a Letter to Uncle *Samuel Fithian* — After Dinner M^r Carter set out for Williamsburg — by him

I sent to the Post-office at *Hobbes-Hole*, My Letters to M^r *Hunter*, Uncle *Fithian*, Miss *Beatty*. & M^r *Peck* — After School in the evening I had an agreeable walk with M^{rs} *Carter* in the Garden —

Fryday 10.

Cool but exceeding dry — Writing at my Lecture. M^{rs} *Carter* was to day sadly frightened with a Lizard, that lives under the House — After School, with Ben I walked over to M^r *Turburville's* to gather Cherries, which are there in great plenty — M^{rs} *Carter* in the evening after our return, gave me a Lecture for taking *Ben* to *Annapolis* when I went last Home without a waiting-Man — Wrote at my Lecture til eleven, Ben sleeps at the Great-House in the absence of his *Papa*.

Saturday 11.

I was sitting in the Colonels Library I took a Catalogue of the whole of His Books¹ — . . . & he tells me he has left behind him at Williamsburg, with many other things 458 Volumes besides Music & Pamphlets.

It is with considerable Difficulty that I keep the Children in School til twelve o-Clock as they used to go out all the last winter at Breakfast — *Bob* especially is vastly vociferous on the Occasion — Our Bells for School & play-Hours are at present under good Regulations. The Children come in as soon as they rise and are Drest which is usually about seven — the Bell rings at eight for Breakfast — At nine it Rings for two purposes; for the Children to enter

¹ Here occurs a list of the books, comprising 89 volumes folio, 76 quarto, 378 octavo, and 502 duodecimo, which, with the 458 volumes at Williamsburg, gives a total of 1503.

School, & for the Gardiners, Carpenters, & other workmen to come into Breakfast — At ten it Rings them to work. At twelve it rings for the School play-hours — At two it rings for us to Dine, & the workmen — And the last bell is at three for School & for the workmen to go to Labour — I dismiss them by my watch at half after Five — After Dinner I rode alone to Mr Blains Store; bought a pen-knife, nine Jacket-Buttons, & a primmer for Miss *Harriot* 3/. It is alarming to observe how hard, & dusty the Country is; towards evening some clouds arose & looked promising in the West, but they bring no rain — No rain has fell here since the 24th of May, & then but a Scanty Shower, & most of the time since windy.

Sunday 12.

Ben & Mr *Randolph* had a small wrangle about Horses: The Day is vastly hot, the wind small at West, clear & very Dry I choose therefore to stay at Home — I lent my Horse to *Ben*, & staid myself at Home to write my Lecture, Mr^s *Carter*, the two Misses, and *Ben* went to Church. Mr *Randolph* went on Board Captain Blackwells Ship to dine — *Bob* pleaded hard with me for Leave to go on board the Ship, but I kept him at home with me — Evening I finished my Lecture & laid it by for future examination. Some Clouds and Lightning in the west but no rain.

Monday 13.

Ben gave *Bob* for some imprudent Language a drubbing this morning — About nine we had a Shower but soon over & of little use; thanks be to God, however, that we have any — I begun, to day my Sermon for the Presbytery — The change in the weather

since yesterday is remarkable. This afternoon is so cool that I should be glad of a winter suit—— yesterday afternoon was so hot I could not be comfortably cool in a thin gown, with all the windows of my chamber up. Evening, John the waiting Man play'd, & the young Ladies spent the evening merrily in dancing—— I staid til ten, saw them & conversed with M^{rs} Carter.

Teusday 14.

I added last night to my Bed-Clothes a Quilt, Blanket, & my own Clothes and lay under them all, none too warm—— The children call'd for a Fire in the School-Room, & were so cold I was obliged to dismiss them before the Bell—— I believe there is no Frost—— Before Breakfast, M^r *Stadley* the musician came from Colonel *Tayloes* at *mount Airy*.

Miss Priscilla & Nancy attended his instructions. M^r *Stadley* shewed me some Verses he is carrying from M^r Washington to his Daughter they seem good and are as follows.

A HYMN FOR A DYING BELIEVER.

- 1st Happy Soul thy Days are ended,
All thy mourning Days below,
Go by Angel-Guards attended
To the Sight of Jesus, go.
- 2^d Waiting to receive my Spirit,
Lo thy Saviour stands above,
Shews the purchase of his merit
Reaches out the Crown of Love.
- 3^d For the Joy he Sets before thee
Bear a momentary pain,
Die to live the Life of Glory
Suffer, with thy Lord to reign.

Spent the evening very agreeably with M^{rs} Carter & M^r Stadley, we sat about a good Fire in the Dining-Room, and it seems as necessary & agreeable as in November or December ——

Wednesday 15.

So cold that I ordered a Fire in the School-Room —— M^r Stadley with us yet —— I took out of the Library to read for entertainment the “*Amusement of the German Spa* ; it is a well written piece —— Designed entirely for Amusement Before dinner M^{rs} Tayloe, with her two Daughters Miss Polly, & Kitty came in a Chariot —— *Bob* was in a moment on Fire; He is deeply Smitten with Polly’s Charms —— beg’d me for Leave to go out of School & dress —— I allow’d him, The Day was vastly windy & the drouth is alarming! —— Close Attention for two weeks past has fatigued me so much, that yesterday, and to Day I have laid aside Study, & read only for Relaxation —— I took a whim in my head & would not go to Dinner, my Head was not dress’d & I was too lazy to change my clothes —— M^{rs} Carter, however, in the evening lash’d me severely. I told her I was engaged in reading a pleasant Novel, —— That I was not perfectly well —— But She would not hear none, & said I was rude, & censurable —— M^r Stadley spent the evening in playing several songs & Sonata’s on the Harpsichord & Violin ——

Thursday 16.

M^r Stadley left us before Breakfast —— Reading at the *Amusement of Spa* —— Drew off some Tunes ——

Fryday 17.

Bob was missing last night I was at his Room at twelve o Clock he was absent —— This morning I

examined him, he told me he was at Mr Turburville's, but told me several palpable Lies — I Gave him however severe correction — We had this morning about 5 o Clock a smart Gust of wind, Rain & Thunder, but soon over.

Saturday 18.

Ben not very well — At twelve *Bob* teaz'd me for leave to go to a Cock-Fight & Horse-Race about two Miles off, I gave him leave with his promising to be home by Sun Set. — Spent the Afternoon in my room writing — Towards evening 'Squire *Lee* call'd in, & brought a late London News Paper in which we are informed that another Act of Parliament has pass'd taking from the People of Boston all power of trying any Soldier, or Person whether for committing any Crime: & obliging all such offenders to be sent home for legal Tryal¹ — Heaven only knows where these tumults will End! — He informed us likewise that last Saturday in Richmond (our neighbour County) the people drest & burnt with great marks of Detestation the infamous Lord *North* — M^{rs} *Carter*, after the 'Squire left us quite astonished me in the Course of the evening, with her perfect acquaintance with the American Constitution —

Sunday 19.

The day cool — Sermon is at Ucomiko, so that we all stay at Home M^{rs} *Carter* was in the morning frightened thinking that several of the Negro-Girls in the Family are unwell with the Measles. but I believe it to be only a Frett of the Heat *Ben* is unwell; He has a sick Stomach; at Times aguish; complains of

¹ 14 Geo. III. c. 39.

Pains in his Breast & Side; & in the morning Spits Blood. He keeps about however, but his fond Mama discovers great anxiety —

I spend the Day in my Room writing at my Sermon, & reading the plain & useful *Pictete*.

Monday 20.

So cool that I sit with my Cloths buttoned, & am chilly, the children also complain of the cold; this must certainly be unwholesome weather — Breakfasted with us M^r *Cox* — Ben continues no better, he lays by Study to day & keeps in — I myself either conceit or in reality have a Fever & head-Ach to Day — Before twelve we had a moderate Shower no wind nor Thunder — M^{rs} *Carter* wrote a note to D^r *Jones* & Desired him to call & See *Ben*, towards evening he came; He thinks *Ben* has only Symptoms of an Agu approaching — He prescribed some Physick — Drank Coffee with us, & went home about six — It lightens in the North.

Teusday 21.

Harry is unwell, takes this morning Physick, and keeps his Room — Ben is in the same way — *Priscilla* & Nancy are practising Musick, so that to Day we have only four in School — At five in the Evening, Ben, *Prissy* & I rode out on Horse back for exercise; before we returned Captain *Dobby*, of the Ship *Susannah* an agreeable, sensible, polite Gentleman came & 'Squire *Lee* — The conversation, at Coffee was on American affairs, the 'Squire shew'd us one of M^r Dunlap's¹ papers in which are accounts that the Northern

¹ John Dunlap established, in 1771, *The Pennsylvania Packet*; this became, in 1784, the first daily paper in the United States.

Colonies are zealous & steadfast in resolutions to maintain their Liberties — We sat til eleven.

Wednesday 22.

Breakfasted with us Captain *Dobby*, & M^r Taylor, their conversation promiscuous — Clear & warm, not sultry, *Harry* better & in School, but *Ben* continues indisposed. I wrote to Day some at my Sermon — After School, with M^{rs} Carter & the young Ladies & *Bob*, I walked through the Garden — But I seem not suited in being confin'd wholly at Home, yet my stay is quite voluntary —

Thursday 23.

Very warm all the morning — From twelve to two I was writing at my Sermon — While we were at dinner a very black cloud rose in the West: M^{rs} Carter, is fearful when it thunders, so that I did not leave the Room till it was over, about four, there was a strong Gale of wind, some thunder, & a refreshing Shower. At five with M^{rs} Carter & the young Ladies I took a walk; She shewed me from a high Hill several beautiful Prospects — I was diverted tho it was a little cruel, to see the Girls gather the Blossoms of some Pricky-Pears.

Fryday 24.

Last night we had a Gust of Rain & Thunder; very acceptable — To Day in course M^r Christians Dance happens here — He came before Breakfast — Miss *Jenny Washington*¹ came also, & Miss *Priscilla*

¹ Probably Jane, daughter of John Augustine Washington and Hannah Bushrod, and a niece of Gen. George Washington. She subsequently married her cousin, Col. William Augustine Washington.

Hale while we were at Breakfast — Miss Washington is about seventeen; She has not a handsome Face, but is neat in her Dress, of an agreeable Size, & well proportioned, and has an easy winning Behaviour; She is not forward to begin a conversation, yet when spoken to she is extremely affable, without assuming any Girlish affectation, or pretending to be overcharg'd with Wit; She has but lately had opportunity of Instruction in Dancing, yet She moves with propriety when she dances a *Minuet* & without any *Flirts* or vulgar *Capers*, when She dances a *Reel* or *Country-Dance*: She plays well on the Harpsichord, & Spinnet; understands the principles of Musick, & therefore performs her Tunes in perfect time, a Neglect of which always makes music intolerable, but it is a fault almost universal among young Ladies in the practice; She sings likewise to her instrument, has a strong, full voice, & a well-judging Ear; but most of the Virginia-Girls think it labour quite sufficient to thump the Keys of a Harpsichord into the air of a tune mechanically, & think it would be Slavery to submit to the Drudgery of acquiring Vocal Music; Her Dress is rich & well-chosen, but not tawdry, nor yet too plain; She appears to Day in a Chintz cotton Gown with an elegant blue Stamp, a Sky-Blue silk Quilt, spotted Apron; Her Hair is a light Brown, it was crap'd up, with two Rolls at each Side, and on the top a small cap of beautiful Gauze and rich Lace, with an artificial flower interwoven — Her person & carriage at a small distance resembles not a little my much respected *Laura*. But on close examination her Features are something masculine, those of *Laura* are mild and delicate. M^r *Christien* very politely requested me to open the Dance by stepping a Minuet with this amiable Girl, but I excused myself by assur-

ing Him that I never was taught to Dance. — Miss Hale is about fourteen; a slim, puny silent Virgin; She has black Eyes, & black Hair, a good sett of Eye-Brows, which are esteem'd in Virginia essential to Beauty; She looks innocent of every human Failing, does not speak five Words in a Week, & I dare say from her Character that her Modesty is invincible; She is drest in a white Holland Gown, cotton Diaper Quilt very fine, a Lawn apron, has her Hair crap'd up, & on it a small Tuft of Ribbon for a Cap. She is but just innitiated into the School, and only hobbles yet Once I saw her standing; I rose immediately and begg'd her to accept my Chair; She answered most kindly. "Sir I thank you," that was all I could extract from this Wonder of her Sex for the two Days she stay'd, & I seemed to have an equal Share too in the Favours of her Conversation; so that I cannot be any way particular in describing the mental faculties of Miss *Hale*, it is sufficient to say that I think she is far removed from most of the foibles of Women — Some time after these came Colonel Lee's Chariot with five young Misses — These five, with Miss Washington & Miss Hale, & Miss Nancy Carter, & Bob are M^r Christiens Compliment of Scholars in this School except Miss Turburville who is just now up the country with an Uncle, where she is to Stay some time together with Miss Corbin¹. Miss Betsy Lee² is about thirteen; a tall slim genteel Girl; She is very far from Miss Hale's

¹ Jane Corbin and her niece, Lettice, daughter of John Turburville of Hickory Hill. The uncle referred to was Gawin Corbin of "Yew Spring," Caroline County, a member of the Council in 1775, and who married, in 1776, Betsy, daughter of Thomas Jones of Northumberland County.

² Presumably Elizabeth, daughter of John Lee of Essex, a nephew of President Thomas Lee.

taciturnity, yet is by no means disagreeably forward; She dances extremely well, & is just beginning to play the Spinet She is drest in a neat shell Callico Gown, has very light Hair done up with a Feather, & her whole carriage is easy inoffensive, & graceful—— The other Miss Lee's are small. Towards evening came in George Lee, & M^r *Grubb*, an English Gentleman; the Company danced after candle-light a Minuet round. three Country-Dances, several Reels, when we were rung to Supper after Supper we set til twelve drinking loyal Toasts——

Saturday 25.

Ben & I slept til eight—— we breakfasted at nine, soon after Christien collected his School and gave them a Lesson round—— About ten the two Gentlemen left us. They quit Dancing about two—— After Dinner M^{rs} *Carter* & the young Ladies, with M^r *Christien* Ben & myself walked in the garden, & through the Pasture, There are several beautiful prospects of the green Bottoms, & of the River Nomini from the High hills—— By Miss Washington I wrote a letter to M^r *Lowe*, acquainting him with what was done for him in the business he sent by me to Philadelphia. The Day is cool, & intirely agreeable & the Ground has been refreshed by a Shower or two lately—— I am told that the people are already reaping not only Rye but Wheat in the Neighbourhood: certainly it is earlier than we reap to the Northward.

Sunday 26.

M^r *Smith* to Day is out of the Parish so that we have no sermon—— I shut up myself therefore in my chamber to reading—— Eleven I am sent for to see

M^r Lowe who is come — I invite him to my Room, where we sit til Dinner — He informed me of the Manner of Trials in Scotland, which Candidates undergo. It is similar, & indeed almost the same, as with our Presbytery Evening M^r Carter returned about seven o-Clock from Williamsburg; He has been unwell himself while there, & he informs us that many are indisposed in that City While we were at Coffee I was taken with a Sudden & unusual pain in my Breast, a sickness at my stomach, attended with a trembling and dizzy faintness; I retired to my room immediately, laid myself down in bed but had a Fever most of the Night —

Monday 27.

I feel myself perfectly relieved blessed be God who upholds my Life M^r Carter says the people are reaping on the Road as he came. He opened & shewed me a curious Case of mathematical Instruments price ten Guineas; He shewed me *Bens Seal* five Guineas — We have to day several plentiful Showers — Evening at Coffee the Colonel shew'd me a book of vocal Musick which he had just imported, it is a collection of psalm-Tunes, Hymns, & Anthems set in four parts for the Voice; He seems much taken with it & says we must learn & perform some of them in their several parts with our voices & with instruments. — Lightning in several parts of the Heaven M^{rs} Carter is much afraid, & can never eat if a cloud is rising nor lie down to sleep.

Teusday 28.

Warm this morning. M^r Carter rode to Court, I wrote some at my sermon but it goes on slowly —

Ben is not perfectly well, he studies, however, at times a little, to day he makes Doct^r *Jones* a visit — The Day very hot; people I understand are reaping in this County — Evening we have in the West & North-West amazing Lightning — M^{rs} *Carter* retired to her Chamber, where she always chooses to sit quite alone in bad Weather —

Wednesday 29.

Writing at my Sermon — The day cool & agreeable. I was never so much confined as now, not even when I was at College, for I used to go with my sweet mates, as Virgil calls them, about the Fields, or to the Brooks to wash, & often ride to Trenton for exercise & pleasure — & sometimes to *Newington* & spend an Afternoon with that dear girl *Laura* — Here in Virginia I have no Call out, people seem sociable & kind but I want Spirit to improve & relish Society. Soon, however, soon, if I keep my Health, I shall be again at Liberty.

Thursday 30.

The morning pleasant none too hot to be agreeable — My Charge seem rising slowly, & uniformly in their several Parts — Harry begun at Reduction & is now working Fellowship; he improves too in Writing. Bob began at Addition and is working Compound Division: he is the best writer in the School — Ben begun with reading *Salust* he is now reading Virgil & the Greek-Testament. He writes extremely bad — Priscilla began Addition & is working Division; She improves in writing, & reads tolerably — Nancy mends fast in writing, but reads carelessly thick & inaccurately.

—— I mentioned to Day M^r *Peck* to M^r *Carter*. He objected at first to his Age as rather too young for the Duty of a Tutor, he assented however & requested me to write him word that he is desired to come by the Time I shall leave Virginia ——

FRYDAY July 1. 1774.

I rose at six. The morning bearable Breakfasted with us 'Squire Lee.—— About one came in Captain *Blackwell*, M^r *Grubb*, & *Lancelot Lee*,¹ the two youngsters came suddenly into our Room, bold gay & noisy. We conversed with them till the Bell rung for Dinner, when we all repair'd to the dining-Room: Captain *Blackwell* is to sail in about ten Days for London, I gave the Children the afternoon for Recreation.

Saturday 2.

M^r *Grubb* called again about twelve with an intention to ride out to the Potowmack but there came on a Rain & kept us Home —— We spent the afternoon sociably in our Room. Miss *Nancy Carter* last Night or this morning in some whimsical freak, clipt off her Eye-Brows; She has a very good Skin; exceeding black hair, & black-well arched, full Eye-brows, which, as I said the other day are much esteemed in Virginia —— She denies positively that She cut them herself, & swears some mischievous person has done it when She was sleeping. But I am inclined to think it is an experiment She has been making on herself to see how she can vary the looks of her face. It made me laugh when I saw it first, to think how early & how truly She copies Female absurdities.

¹ Son of George Lee of Mt. Pleasant, and younger brother of George Fairfax Lee, the proprietor of Mt. Pleasant at this date (1774).

Towards evening we rode out merely for exercise, & straggled at last to M^r. *Simpsons*; near his house we saw two trees standing near each other both of which have lately been struck by Lightning & are torn to shivers in several parts —

M^r. Grubb agreed to stay the night, we supt on Artichoks, & Huckleberries & Milk — The toasts, after Supper, were the King; Queen & Royal Family, the Governor & his family, & then young Ladies of our acquaintance — We were alone, M^r. & M^{rs}. Carter left us immediately, so that we spent the evening without restraint.

Sunday 3.

We were all to go to Church to day, but we were prevented by a storm of thunder & Rain; the Ground is now sufficiently wetted — I have not heard a Sermon on Sunday since the fifteenth of May; a longer Vacancy from publick worship than I have ever had since my first remembrance. About ten an old Negro Man came with a complaint to M^r. Carter of the Overseer that he does not allow him his Peck of corn a Week — The humble posture in which the old Fellow placed himself before he began moved me. We were sitting in the passage, he sat himself down on the Floor clasp'd his Hands together, with his face directly to M^r. Carter, & then began his Narration — He seem'd healthy, but very old, he was well dress'd but complained bitterly — I cannot like this thing of allowing them no meat, & only a Peck of Corn & a Pint of Salt a Week, & yet requiring of them hard & constant Service. We have several Rains this day so that the Ground is sufficiently wetted — I spent the greater part of the day writing at my Sermon.

Monday 4.

I begun to read the first Volume of *Tristram-Shandy*—He is droll in the account he gives us of his Birth & Family—We have several good showers to day, the weather is warm, funky, very damp & I fear will not turn out long to be healthful. With us in Jersey wet Weather about this time not only is prejudicial to the Harvest, but is generally thought, & I believe almost never fails being a forerunner of Agues, Fall-Fevers, Fluxes, & our Horse-Distempers—Fearing these, any of which so far from Home, would be painful & expensive, I keep myself much at Home, contrary to the repeated & strong invitations of the youngsters—And indeed my Duty, seems to require my presence pretty constantly; & I am forced to produce an Example for what I find it necessary to enforce on our Boys, in order to do it with some face, for they always call upon me for a Reason for every one of my precepts—It is now the Height of Harvest—There is at Mr Turburville's a young Lady, from the Isle of Wight, Miss *Betsy Lee*,¹ a Sister of *George & Lancelot Lee's*—It is proposed that Ben & I go this Evening to the Captain's & invite her here—Accordingly after School we rode on our errand, We found besides Miss *Lee*—Mr *George Turburville*, his *Wife*, Mr *Grubb*, & *Lancelot Lee*—After the ceremony of Introduction, & our Congees were over, we took our seats in a cool passage where the Company were sitting; all the Company when we entered were laughing at Master *Lee*,²

¹ Elizabeth, daughter of George Lee of Mt. Pleasant, by his first wife, Judith Wormeley of "Rosegill," and a half sister of George Fairfax and Lancelot Lee. This young lady was born November 21st, and died, unmarried, on the 19th of May, 1828. (*Lee's Lee of Virginia*, 184.)

² Probably Lancelot, who at this date was eighteen years of age, and who

who had been gathering Mulberries, & either through *carelessness* or *Greediness* had stained his ruffles — At any Rate they looked like a scarlet Clock in a Bunters stocking, both indilicate & impudent — The attention of the Company however being wholly taken up with Mr Lee, I had the opportunity, which I wanted, of examining the person of his Sister, without being interrupted either by the notice of others, or by my own timidity — Miss *Betsy Lee*, I am told is but lately entered her twenty-sixth year; She is a well set maid, of a proper Height, neither high nor low — Her Aspect when she is sitting is masculine & dauntless; she sits very erect; places her feet with great propriety, her Hands She lays carelessly in her lap, & never moves them but when she has occasion to adjust some article of her dress, or to perform some exercise of the *Fan* — She has a full face, sanguine Complexion, her Nose is rather protuberant than otherwise; Her Eyes are exactly such as *Homer* attributes to the Goddess *Minerva*; & her arms resemble those which the same Poet allows to *Juno*. When She has a Bonnet on & Walks, She is truly elegant; her carriage neat & graceful, & her presence soft & beautiful — Her hair is a dark Brown, which was crap'd up very high, & in it she had a Ribbon interwoven with an artificial Flower — At each of her ears dangled a brilliant Jewel; She was pinched up rather too near in a long pair of new fashioned Stays, which, I think, are a Nuisance both to us & themselves — For the late importation of Stays which are said to be now most fashionable in London, are produced upwards so high that we can have scarce any view at all of the Ladies

afterward married Mary Bathurst, daughter of Thomas Jones of Northumberland County.

Snowy Bosoms; and on the contrary, they are extended downwards so low that whenever Ladies who wear them, either young or old, have occasion to walk, the motion necessary for Walking, must, I think, cause a disagreeable Friction of some part of the body against the lower edge of the Stays which is hard & unyielding——I imputed the Flush which was visible in her Face to her being swathed up *Body & Soul & limbs* together——She wore a light Chintz Gown, very fine, with a blue stamp, elegantly made, & which set well upon her——She wore a blue silk Quilt——In one word Her Dress was rich & fashionable——Her behaviour such as I should expect to find in a Lady whose education had been conducted with some care & skill; and her person, abstracted from the embellishments of Dress & good Breeding, not much handsomer than the generality of Women——

What made me desirous to see, & curious to reconnoitre this young Lady, was, a Sentence that was dropt yesterday by a respectable Member of our Family, intimating a Desire that I may, on seeing Miss Lee, after having known, by report, her faultless character, be so pleased with her person as to try to make her mine, & settle in this Province——That kind Body, who is for making me happy by settling me in Virginia, & connecting me with one of the best families in the Government, little knows how painful it would be if I was indeed compell'd by any accident of Fortune to spend the remainder of my Days in Virginia if it is the pleasure of Providence that I am to continue for any length of time in the World——Strong, & sweet are the bands which tie us to our place of nativity; If it is but a beggarly Cottage, we seem not satisfied with the most elegant entertainment if we are totally separated from

it — But it a Princess should solicit me to accept, together with Herself, 50000£ a year — I declare, with as great *pleasure* as *truth*, that the esteem, & Fidelity which I possess for my dear, dear *Eliza* would make me without reflection, evade & refuse the proposal — Ben & I returned Home before dark — We had the 'Squire to drink Coffee with us — He brought us a Newspaper containing the debate, of the House of Commons concerning the Repeal of the Tea-duty.

Tuesday 5.

While we were at Breakfast came from Hobbes-Hole M^{rs} *Oakly* a Woman who has acted as nurse for several of M^{rs} Carters Children with great credit — All the family speak of her with Love & regard — This day is very warm, but no rain — I gave all the Girls this day to chat with their old acquaintance — Tho' the weather is warm & very Damp we have here no Musquitos; I have not seen one, since I came into the Province as I can now recollect which seems to me a little strange; for at Princeton in Jersey some warm evenings in July & August they are so numerous as to be troublesome, & that is more than twenty miles from Salt Water, this not more than three times as many *Ked.* — In the evening, among several other things M^r Carter informed me that he has on this plantation a Negro Man called Prince who is now unwell of a Strain ~~in the~~ This Man, he swears, he would not sell for 500£ ready Cash — I was almost ready to say it is more Money than I would give for all he owns on his Estate — The evening is very pleasant I had an opportunity on the Pavement before the Hall Door of shewing away on Astronomy to M^{rs} *Carter*, I lectured for half an hour on the Milky-Way, on several of the

Stars, on Jupiter in particular, & on the Course of Comets.—In bed by half after ten as usual.

Wednesday 6.

Ben seems pretty well recovered — We dined to day on the Fish call'd Sheeps-Head, with Crabs — Twice every Week we have fine Fish, & every Day good Fruit for Dinner, caudled Apples, Hurtle-Berries with milk &c — Yes, says M^{rs} Carter at Supper, this hot weather takes away all my life ; the small Lightning that we now have makes me uneasy & melancholy — I love to see her in such Distress — *Beauty & Virtue* when combined together & Strugling against Misfortune ; O how such objects move, & awaken the most delicate sensations of our Souls — Call in Nancy to her Guitar, says the Colonel. In She minces slow & silent from her supper — She scratches her Instrument, after a long preparation, into the Air of “Water parted from the Sea.” What, pray Miss Nancy, what bewitched you with a desire of clipping your Eye-Brows — The Genius of Woman shines forth in this little Girlish trick — Pray M^r *Fithian*, was you ever taught Singing? Yes Sir, I attended two years — Had you any instructions in particular for using the Shake — I am giving Nancy some Lessons, but she is vastly indolent — Nancy, play over and sing the Funeral Hymn — Excuse me, Papa, I have lost the Verses — Happy Soul, thy Days are ended, — Go on — How steady & how sharp it lightens in the North too.

Thursday 7.

Yes Fanny may sit down to Breakfast — Where's Ben — The Weather is hot & Ben for enjoyment had

stript himself naked — Of everything but his shirt & trowsers — Where's Ben — He is not very well, Madam — This Day says the Colonel after having Prefac'd our Breakfast with a — “God bless us in what we are to receive” — is our Rye yonder to be mown down; mown down thinks I, do they mow their Grain in Virginia — Yes two Negroes take naked Sythes & mow down the Grain; others are employ'd in raking it into heaps, but much of it is left — Shall I help you, M^r Fithian, to a Dish of Coffee? — I choose a deep Plate, if you please, Ma'am, & Milk — Our Corn, Madam, in Jersey is inferior to yours in this Province — Or your Cooks, Sir, are less Skilful in managing it — Well, Nancy, I have tuned your Guitar: you are to practice to Day, with Priscilla, who is to play the Harpsichord, til twelve o Clock; You can repeat the Verses of the Funeral Hymn? — I can Sir — What, Harry, do you hesitate at that plain Sum in Arithmetical Progression? — *Bob*, attend to your Business — When I am bedizened with these clamorous children, sometimes I silently exclaim — Once I was told, now I know I feel how irksome the Pedagoging Scheme is — Fanny — I say, Fanny, don't you hear me, Fanny, and Betsy, sit down — pray, Sir, must I multiply here by 32 — Yes, thick-Scull — But M^r Fithian, I don't know how to divide by $5\frac{1}{2}$ — Look, Sir, do you see what Mouth's *Harry Willis* is making? — I can say my Lesson — Buz, Buz — To divide by $5\frac{1}{2}$ you must double both your Dividend & divisor — Half after two we were rung to Dinner; poor *Tasker*,¹ his Fever has continued high since yesterday afternoon, he lies quiet, and asks for nothing

¹ Benjamin Tasker Carter, the Councillor's eldest son, was named after his grandfather, Hon. Benjamin Tasker of Maryland.

— If his Disorder does not abate to night, I shall give him in the morning a dose of “James’s Powder”
— Will you lend me Jack, he meant my Horse, says M^r Randolph, to ride to-morrow to Captain Cheltons; yes M^r Randolph, I will oblige Jenny so far.

Fryday 8.

I swear, says Bob, Harry belies me. I never told the Nurse that Harriot should stay in School all Day — It was Mama’s order that so long as M^{rs} *Oakly* the Nurse stays, Harriot is to go into School after Breakfast, & after Dinner, & say a lesson each time — I was passing through the Hall from Breakfast — The Nurse, a short Stump of a Woman, who blundered by mere accident, when she was young, out of the road in which Virgins commonly travel, & felt the difficulties of being a Mother several years before She enjoyed the pleasures of being a Wife — She call’d to me, & begg’d me to close the Quarrel; you shall have, said I, dear Madam, with the greatest Freedom my consent — Harriot shall be with you — At Breakfast — Where is Ben? — He breakfasts with the House-keeper Madam — At School — What a likeness there is in the manners of Boys; Bob, & Harry had skulk’d behind the writing-Table with their Slates on their Knees, & their Faces close together, just as I have done a thousand Times, in our little School-House in *Greenwich* — But once I was threshed confoundedly for a piece of such hidden play — *Tom Parks* was asleep, poor Fellow he is now sleeping in the Dust; — Then he was fast asleep on a Bench, with his mouth open — I fill’d his mouth with Snuff! — He sprung up — Nature was in distress, & found all her Avenues too scanty at that time to clear out at

once the tickling penetrating Powder —— He snuffed —— He coughed —— He —— He told the Master, & then I was tickled —— Indeed he made my Feet beat time to his Lash —— Says Bob to Harry, behind the Table, I wonder Mr *Fithian* has not fallen in Love yet with some of our Nominy-Girls —— Here he sits from Month to Month —— (Not many Months longer said I to myself) —— Mr *Marshal* was always out; I suppose Mr *Fithian* never thinks of Girls —— Indeed says *Harry*, drawing his chair close & lowering his voice, I never in my Life saw a Man who thought so little of these things —— Here Tom the Coachman came in with a wood Tarripin which he brought to be a resident in our Room to catch the Bugs & Cockroaches ——

yes, Harry, & Bob, *Fithian* is vulnerable by Cupid's Arrows —— I assure you, Boys, he is, Not by the Girls of Westmorland —— O my dear Laura, I would not injure your friendly Spirit; So long as I breathe Heavens vital air I am unconditionally & wholly yours —— At Dinner, Mr^s Carter call'd for the Chariot, Mr^s Turburville will think me rude, unless I welcome her Home; I will take Priscilla this Afternoon & make her a visit —— I saw in a moment that *Miss* was better pleased with the notion of trotting off in the Carriage, than to be caged up with Multiplication & Division —— O yes, says Mr^s *Oakly*, I know Dadda *Gumby* at *Williamsburg*. I think you look as brisk, as hearty & as young now as you did ten years ago —— *Gumby* —— I & my old Woman, here Master, are the two oldest Negres in Mr *Carters* Estate. Here we live, Master, on our worthy Landlords Bounty —— The *Nurse*, *Betsy*, & *Harriot* were at *Gumby's* House which stands about twenty Rod from the Garden —— I was walking, with a Book in my Fist, musing & stumbling along —— I

saw them, I went up, & with a lower Bow than I should give to a Nurse, if Women were plenty, says I, pray M^{rs} *Oakly* do you know Dadda Gumby? We stood chattering with the old African, or rather he stood chattering with us, relating one story after another, leaving some of his Narrations half untold, beginning others in the middle having entered into the true Spirit of Loquacity——Dennis, in the Height of a Story, about his Grand-fathers Uncle's harpooning a *Porpoise* summoned me to Coffee——M^{rs} *Oakly*, will you walk?——Come Betsy——Where's Ben?——Says the Colonel has Ben retired from the World?——He rode out this Evening, Sir, about five o Clock for Exercise——M^{rs} Carter, M^r Carter, good night——

Saturday 9.

I was waked by *Sam* the Barber thumping at my Door——I was dressed——In Powder too; for I propose to see & dine with Miss *Jenny Washington* to Day. D—n the Bugs & Chinchies, says *Ben* rolling over on the Bed, & rubbing his Eyes, I have slept none for them M^r Fithian, do you rest any o-Nights? Dont these cursed Bugs keep you awake?——No Sir; for you see I commonly sit & read til half after ten, or eleven——So that by the Time I lay my poor Skin & Bones on the Bed, I am so much fatigued with the tumultous Business of the Day, & the Study of the Evening that my sleep the rest of the night is sound & unbroken——Priscilla hangs her head a little this morning, She looks feverish, dispirited, sits on a low bench, with her Elbow in her Lap, & leaning her head upon her hand, swings backwards and forwards, just as I have seen beautiful Quaker Girls when they are weeping at the frightful distortions and Grimaces of some deep-inspired *Father*.

But *Priscilla & Tasker* are unwell — Fanny teizes me for a Picture, I must draw her a slip, she says, on Paper like the one I drew for Her the other Day with my finger in the Sand — I love the little careless Girl, & will oblige her. — On the writing-Table in the School-Room I found this morning an old Book of Esops Fables done into English Verse; In the Margins of the Book up & Down Bob had in his scribbling Way recorded the names of several young Ladies of Westmorland & Richmond Counties. I shall set them down, as I turned over the Leaves & found them — I do not insinuate by writing this Story, the smallest reproach to either of the Ladies; I mention it solely to shew *Bob's* Taste, & the Meditations of his heart when wholly alone. In the Life of Esop, page 23, at the Bottom of the Leaf his own Name is written at full length & in as elegant a hand as he is master of with a Dash below.

ROBERT BLADEN CARTER.

He has in the same manner introduced it a few leaves further on, he has done this to be a kind of Preface for what is to follow; he has also very cleverly interspersed it with the Ladies, either that the Ladies Names should be a foil to set his off to advantage, or that his name be a Foil to adorn the Ladies — In the Life of Woglog the Great at the first page

Miss Lucy Carter¹ of Sabine-Hall.

Page 3^d at Bottom of the Leaf

Miss Letitia Turberville of Hickory Hill.

Page 8.

¹A daughter of Col. Landon Carter of Sabine Hall (an uncle of the Councillor's), and Elizabeth Wormeley, his third wife. Lucy Carter married William Colston.

Miss Betsy Carter¹ of Sabine-Hall.

Page 9.

Miss Priscilla Carter of Nomini-Hall—his Sister.

Esops Fables Page 1st he writes the Name of the Girl he loves above all others

POLLY TAYLOE the Lovely of Mount-Airy.

Page 39th Miss Betsy Lee.

Page 41.

Miss Kitty Tayloe. Mount Airy.

Page 43.

Miss Lydia Pettit has d—m'd ugly Freckles in her Face, otherwise She is handsome & tolerable——

Page 45.

Miss Betsy Gaskins.²

Page 47.

Miss Sally Tayloe.

Page 50.

Miss Jenny Washington of Bushfield is very Pretty,

then he Bolts in

ROBERT CARTER.

Page 57.

Miss Polly Tolliver.³

Page 59.

Miss Steerman is a beautiful young Lady.

Miss Jane Corbin.

——— Aphia Fantleroy.

——— Edwards.

——— Betsy Jones.

——— Sally Panton.

But this afternoon M^{rs} *Oakly* is taken with a Fever; I suppose, She was out last evening without anything

¹ Elizabeth Wormeley, daughter of Landon Carter and a sister of Lucy Carter, married Nelson Berkely of Airwell, Hanover County.

² Doubtless Elizabeth, daughter of Col. Thomas Gaskins of Northumberland, who married (11th June, 1775) Edward Digges. A sister, Mrs. Anne (Gaskins) Pinckard, was the second wife of Richard Henry Lee.

³ For Polly Taliaferro.

on her head rather too late, when I saw her at Daddy Gumby's —

Sunday 10.

A Sunday in Virginia dont seem to wear the same Dress as our Sundays to the Northward — Generally here by five o-Clock on Saturday every Face (especially the Negroes) looks festive & cheerful — All the lower class of People, & the Servants, & the Slaves, consider it as a Day of Pleasure & amusement, & spend it in such Diversion, as they severally choose — The Gentlemen go to Church to be sure, but they make that itself a matter of convenience, & account the Church a useful weekly resort to do Business — I am told, for I have not yet been to Church since my Return, that all the Sermons are in the forensic Style, & on political Subjects. But I shall go to Church to Day — I am sorry that I may relate an accident which happened last night — By some accident; or by the carelessness of some Negroes M^r Turburville's Barn took fire and burnt Down — His loss is judged at 300£ which is something considerable for a Man who is with the greatest Anxiety turning every ear of Corn into Money — At Church Parson *Smith* Read to the Congregation an Order Issued out lately by the Governor to elect Burgesses¹ in the several Counties — He preached us a Sermon on Brotherly Love — Dined with us to Day M^r Parker, a Lawyer of this County, & his Son, a young man about 20 who is also licensed to plead Law — And M^r *Cunningham* — I am not very well to Day, I have pain in several parts of my Body —

¹ Writs had been issued by Governor Dunmore for the election of a new Assembly, to fill the place of the one dissolved May 25th, 1774, because of its indignant protest against the Act of Parliament shutting up the port of Boston.

M^r *Lowe* informed me that Colonel Washington is unwell of a sort of *Cholic*.

Monday 11.

Indeed says M^{rs} *Carter* at Breakfast a Fire this morning would be very pleasant — Yes says I, for I have had the look and feeling of November all the morning; My room shut up, My Coat buttoned, & yet my Body cold Besides! — M^r *Carter* on this advanced a strange Assertion, that there is not a single Person in this whole Continent, if this Change is as powerful through the Continent as it is here, who is not to day, in a greater or less Degree affected with a Fever! — My poor skinny Body, I know is in a prodigious Tumult; I impute it tho' to my ride yesterday to Church in the scorching Sun; and to drinking five or six glasses of Wine extraordinary — *Priscilla* & *Harriot* are confined at Home of an eruptive Fever, some think it a Swine Pox at any Rate they are sick, & break out into Pus-tules — I am in such a Ferment to Day that I cannot sit nor Walk, nor Write with any Stomach — I made out tho' with some Difficulty to finish a rough Draught of my Sermon, & laid by for future Perusal.

Teusday 12.

Indeed I enjoy this fine cool weather, says Ben as he lay on his Back in the Bed rubbing his Eyes, & ears about half after six o-Clock; *Lancelot Lee* had never I am sure, more sensible Pleasure in swallowing a well prepared Dinner — To be sure I have slept last Night with the sweetest composure in Spight of the Chinchies, & in spight of my Disorder! — Get up, Lump of Indolence, said I to him; Get up & clap to *Virgil* instead of lying there & boasting — Break-

fasted with us Captain Guthrie, of a Small Schooner of *Norfolk*; & Mr. Stadley the Musician—I love this good German, He used to teach in *New York & Philadelphia*—He has much simplicity & goodness of heart—He performs extremely well—He is kind & sociable with me—Dined with us one—one Mr. ——— Mr. ——— I forgot his name—I know his trade tho': An Inspector—He is rather Dull, & seems unacquainted with company for when he would, at Table, drink our Health, he held the Glass of Porter fast with both his Hands, and then gave an insignificant nod to each one at the Table, in Hast, & with fear, & then drank like an Ox—

The good Inspector, at the second toast, after having seen a little our Manner “Gentlemen & Ladies (but there was none in Womans Cloathing at Table except M^{rs} Carter) The King”—I thought that during the Course of the Toasts, he was better pleased with the Liquor than with the manner in which he was at this Time obliged to use it—I made a begining of my Latin Thesis—“*Cuinam Usui inserv: at Lex moralis sub Evangelis.*” I made out to write this much—*Duabus hisce Propositionibus sequentibus sinulatim Respondeo.*—But if I wrote so much every Day for a twelve Month my thesis will be short. The Day is pleasant, cool enough; & my disorder which has been for several days a growing painful *Dysentery*, seems to have subsided.

Wednesday 13.

I drew off this morning for Dadda *Gumby* a List of his Children, & their respective ages—He himself is 94—For this office I had as many *Thanks*, as I have had *blessings* before now from a Beggar for Sixpence

—Thank you, thank you, thank you, Master, was the language of the old Grey-headed pair.—Call on us at any time, you shall have *Eggs, Apples, Potatoes*—You shall have everything we can get for you Master! —In this Torrent of Expressions of Gratitude I was rung to Breakfast; I bow'd to the venerable Old Negroes, thank'd them in my Turn for their Offers, & left them—Indeed, said the Colonel at Breakfast, cool as it was last Night, I kept my Window up the whole night—I am not fond of your hot dusty Air—Was yours up Mr Fithian no truly; so long as I can breath without panting I am for keeping my Window down, & my Room close on summer nights; especially here in Virginia, Madam, where the Dews are so heavy, and so dangerous—The Postilion keeps a fox at the Stable & I am often much diverted with his Cunning Tricks. The other Day, Mr^s Carter was lying in the long room among the Books on the Couch; In jumps Reynard, through a broken Pane of Glass, & begins to frisk & hue about the Room like a Bedlam—How is Nurse, pray, says the Colonel at Dinner? She has her Ague & Fever again to Day, Sir—This is a fine Sheeps-Head, Mr Stadley shall I help you? Or would you prefer a *Bass* or a *Perch*?—Or perhaps you will rather help yourself to some picked *Crab*—It is all extremely fine, Sir, I'll help myself—Well says the Colonel when we had almost finished our Dinner with a Glass of sparkling Porter on the Table before him, we have but fasted to Day; here stands a fine Ham, & a Shoulder of excellent Mutton yet untouched—At least, says the merry, good-hearted Man, we have kept *Lent*—Yesterday I scribed a little for *Laura*, & to Day I drank her Health from my Heart in generous Medaira—Yes, best of

Women, when you are the Toast I drink wine with pleasure——

Thursday 14.

To Day is the election of Burgesses in Richmond the neighbouring County——Come, Fithian, will you go? My old objection recurs; I am too busy——I met this morning in Wingates Arithmetic, with the following merry Problem——“To discover a Number which any one shall have in his mind, without requiring him to reveal any part of that or any number whatsoever”——After any one has thought upon any number at Pleasure; bid him double it, & to that double bid him add any such even number as you please to assign: Then from the Sum of that Addition let him reject one half, & reserve the other half: lastly, from this half bid him subtract the Number which he first thought upon; then you may bodily tell him what Number remains in his mind after that Subtraction is made, for it will be always half the Number which you assigned him to add——A Reason for the Rule is added. “Because, if to the double of any number (which number for Distinction sake I call the first) a second number be added, the half of the Sum must necessarily consist of the said first number, & half the Second: Therefore, if from the said half sum the first Number be subtracted, the remainder must of necessity be half the second Number which was added——M^r Inspector dined with us again to day——We had after Dinner, *Lime Punch & Madaira*: but he chose & had a Bowl of *Grogg*——You are a mean Puppy, a treacherous ungenerous Scoundrel, says *Bob*, to Harry just as I entered the School after Dinner——you told M^r *Lowe*, you did more, you published in M^r Washington’s

Family that Mr *Fithian* horsed me for Staying out all night — That he call'd in John the Waiter to help him — & that you was sent to cut & bring in Whips — After School with Ben I rode out the Day is warm, & the Ground grows to be very dry — I was not a little Surprised to see Corn out in Tassel — But the Tobacco looks dismal, it is all poor, much of it is dead with the drouth; I think, however, that the Season is ten days or two Weeks earlier here than in New Jersey —

Mr Stadley, left us to Day, I love that Man, he is gone to Colonel Tayloes —

Fryday 15.

I got up a little before six & as it is very warm, I threw up the window to enjoy the Morning's fine salubrious Air — I saw a *Lady* — She was walking to the *Poplars* — She appeared small but walked genteel — She walked slow & looked on the ground — Her dress look'd to be extremely good, but was only thrown carelessly on; She had a Silk shade thrown over her shoulders in which her hands were muffled — I had the Idea in a moment of a Woman in some kind of Difficulty — But how can such a Woman have been to Mr Carters & done Business, who was not there last night? — It was Mrs *Oakly* — She has the Ague and was walking for the benefit of the *Morning Air*. — We are rid of two troubles from this morning till Monday: for *Bob* & *Nancy* are gone to the Dancing School — They Dance at Colonel Lee's — Two great troubles, indeed, for this hot weather I can hardly keep them in the Room, much less to any useful business — Please to excuse me from Dinner, says Mrs Carter, & retired to her Chamber — There appears

in the North a black Cloud, where it Thunders—— Send us a Shower in Mercy, bountiful Heaven, tho' our Sins deserve thy Frowns & Judgments.—— The Cloud thickens, it rises—— At last there comes a kind Shower—— After the Rain about six Ben & I took a Ride for exercise, the Corn litterally looks glad—— I have made a party, says M^r Carter at Coffee, for a Trip by Water to morrow, M^r Fithian will you be one?—— With all my heart Sir, if it is agreeable—— We are to ride then to M^r *Atwels* says he, & there enter my new Barge, with her we will go down the River Machodock into Potowmack then up the Potowmack & enter the River Nomini, & up that River Home——

Saturday 16.

The *Colonel*, *Ben* & *myself* rode on Horse-back about Six to M^r *Atwels*; four lusty, hearty Men had gone on foot before who were Oarsmen: Here we were to enter a Boat never Rowed before, & proceed down the River Machodock to M^r *Carters* Store-Houses which are now building near the mouth of that River—— But I am going to venture upon a Description of a Scene which I am sure I will not do Justice to—— A Scetch of three Rivers—— Their Beautiful Banks—— Several Gentlemens Seats—— Their commodious harbours—— In particular that near which M^r *Carter* is erecting Store-Houses—— The whole is to be an account of our peregrination this 16th burning day of July 1774—— With several remarks.

What a Crack of Thunder there was! I must run to the Window & view the Cloud—— It is a small white remote Cloud in the North-West. I was summoned to Coffee—— M^{rs} *Carter* gave us a Dish round—— Amazing what a Flash of Lightning! How fast it

risers! — Ben child, says the lovely Woman, take my Seat & fill out the Coffee. Please to excuse me; & She then retired up chamber — We finished our Coffee — The Gust came up, & to be sure I have seldom seen one more terable! Long, bright, forked bolts seemed to dart incessantly through the broken parts of the Cloud; some of them would appear perpendicular others horizontal, and some would split, & in a moment seem to bespangle, with Sparks of Fire, the whole Front of the Cloud!

And these were continually succeeded with alarming alternate Cracks of Thunder! — It brings, however to the scorched Earth a plenteous needful Supply — By nine it is past, & opens a serene beautiful western Sky — I resume my Description.

I have said, that we rode on Horseback to Mr *Atwels* where we were to go on board & have our Horses sent back — This House is called six Miles from the mouth of Machodock — It stands on the Bank of the River; The Boat that carried us is built for the purpose of carrying the young Ladies and others of the Family to Nominy Church — It is a light neat *Battoo* elegantly painted & is rowed with four Oars — We went on board; The Sun beamed down upon us, but we had each an Umberella — The River is here about Gunshot over; the Banks are pretty low, but hard to the very Water — I was delighted to see Corn & Tobacco growing, or Cattle & Sheep feeding along the Brink of this River on both Sides, or else Groves of Pines, Savins & Oaks growing to the side of the Bank — We passed by an elegant small Seat of Mr *Beal*; it was small, but it was neat — We arrived at Mr *Carters Store-Houses* in 50 minutes, they are 5 Miles from Mr *Atwels*, & one from Potowmack —

These Houses are building for the reception of Iron, Bread, Flour &c. there are two Houses each 46 Feet long by 20. — They stand at the Bottom of a Bay which is a safe & spacious harbour — Here we Breakfasted at ten, — At twelve we pushed off from thence & rowed by parson Smiths Glebe & in sight of his house in to the broad beautiful Potowmack — I think it is here ten Miles or twelve over has a fine high hard Bank; no Marshes — but Cornfields, Trees, or Grass! — Up the lovely Water we were rowed six Miles into the Mouth of Nominy — We went on Board a small Schooner from *Norfolk* which lay in Nominy-Bay — Mr Carter is loading her with Flour & Iron — Here we were in Sight of Stratford, Colonel Lee's Seat — We were in Sight too of Captain Cheltons — And of Colonel Washington's Seat at Bushfield — From the Schooner we rowed up Nominy-River — I have forgot to remark before that from the time of our setting out as we were going down Machodock, & along the Potowmack-Shore, & especially as we were rowing up Nominy we saw Fishermen in great numbers in Canoes, & almost constantly taking in Fish, Bass & Perch — This was beautiful! — The entrance of Nomini is very shoal, & stony, the Channel is very narrow, & lies close to the Eastermost Side — On the edges of these shoals, or in Holes between the Rocks is plenty of Fish — The Banks of Nominy are steep and vastly high, twenty or thirty Feet, & in some places almost perpendicular; The Course of the River is crooked, & the prospects on each Side vastly romantic & diversified — We arrived at the Granary near Nominy-Hall about six — I went to my room to take off an Account of the expedition — When the Gust soon hindred.

Sunday 17.

The Air this morning serene & cool — I do not go to Church. At last I have finished my Presbyterial pieces roughly they are to be reviewed & corrected; In the mean Time tho', (as Workman say) I must blow a little, for to be sure I am fatigued — Mr *Fithian*, says Mr *Carter* at Dinner with a serious Air, you see we cannot with conveniency attend *Ucomico* Church. If I should propose having prayers read in the great Room on that vacant Day would you encourage & assist me? — I answered him that I was heartily agreed — You then, Sir, says he, may read the *prayers* — & I will read the *Lessons*. The Afternoon extremely hot I could not leave my Room til the Sun had hid his flaming Face behind the Earth — Then I walked through the Garden — The whole Family seem to be now out Black, White, Male, Female, all enjoying the cool evening —

Monday 18.

Pray Sir let all our Windows be put up, says Bob the moment he came down from his chamber, & let the Doors be set open or we shall faint with Heat — Such a night I never spent before — The Heat says he, and these cursed Chinchies made me intirely restless — I scribbled over a letter to Mr *John Peck*, & one to Miss — pray Mr *Fithian* says Nancy draw me a picture such as you drew for Fanny last Week — At two, just before we sit Down to Dinner a Cloud appear'd in the West — Mr^s *Carter* excused herself from Dinner; while we were dining the Cloud came over, very moderate tho' with plenty of Rain — It is now, says Mr^s *Carter* at Coffee, cool enough, a fine fall evening, a Northerly breeze & lovely evening — Mr^s *Oakly* came

my Room this evening——It was to take her
; she is to leave us early tomorrow morning——
I night, said I to the little Woman, I wish you
the passage over the Rappahannock, & a pleasant
home——I drew off as well as I could a rough
of Nominy-Hall for Nancy.

Day 19.

Nurse left us early this morning postilion Nat:
ed her in a chair to the Ferry——The Day is fine
enough——After School in the evening I rode
to a Corn-field, about a Mile & a half off, where I
ly go for exercise, the Corn is beginning pretty
rally to tassel, & I saw one hill in Silk, and in
som——To day I put Harry into decimal Arith-
c:——

uesday 20.

Shut the Door, *Harriot*, says *Fanny* I'm so cold I
e——indeed the morning is cool enough to sit
December clothes on!——I spent the little time I
for myself to Day in forming my Latin *Exegesis*
M: *Taylor* the head Overseer Dined with us——
offee The Colonel & myself entered somehow into
ute upon the advantage in working an Oar——He
ed & tried to prove that the advantage lies in
g the Oar longer from the *thole-pin* or where it
n the Boat to the water, than from the Thole-pin
e Rowers hand in a mathematical sense; He
ed the Water to be the Fulcrum or Prop, & the
to be the weight, & the Rower to be a secondary
r——But the resistance of the Water to the Oar
lled the chief & primary Power——

Thursday 21.

Lazy Fellows! *Ben, Bob, Harry, & Myself* all this Morning slept til near seven!—It was a sleepy Morning tho', for the Girls to give us countenance slept too — My Leisure time to Day is spent in forming my Latin Exegesis — Only just before the Sun went Down *Ben* & I had our Horses & rode to our accustomed Resort the Corn-field, now many of the Hills are in Silk — We returned to Coffee — The Day has been very warm; the evening is light & pleasant, &, Thank, to our common, & bountiful Preserver, I am in good Health —

Fryday 22.

My Exegesis goes on lustily; I have finished three pages — Indeed Sir, says *Harry* I cannot reduce $7^s.6^d$ into the decimal of a Pound Sterling — you must reduce 7^s & 6^d to pence for a numerator; then you must reduce a Pound Sterling to Pence for a Denominator; this Numerator you divide by the denominator & the Quotient will be the Decimal sought — Well *Ben* you & M^r *Fithian* are invited by M^r *Turberville*, to a Fish feast to-morrow, said M^r *Carter* when he entered the Hall to Dinner — I am uncertain whether my Latinitas will not be a Shackle too heavy to allow me to favour his kind invitation.

Saturday 23.

Priscilla, & Fanny, each presented me with a fine *Jesamine Nose-gay* this morning — At eight I dismissed the School; *Ben, Bob, & Harry* go to the Fish Feast, I to making latin — While we were Dining a black turbulent Cloud came over from the West (I believe the Boys will commend my choice now) It rained,

it Thundered hard, & continued exceeding stormy til after six in the Evening; I spent the Afternoon however in Quiet & to advantage — I am more & more pleased with my Situation, the time draws nigh when I must enter on a new, & perhaps less agreeable exercise — There were many at the River, the Boys tell me, among others Miss *Betsy Lee* — I do not, however, repent my having staid at Home — The Colonel shewed me some Powder which was made in *Frederick* in this Province — It seems good — He charged a *Pistol*, it fired quick & strong —

Sunday 24.

I lazy slept til seven — The Boys seem sick of their yesterdays Voyage — I rode to Nomini-Church — The Parson invited me home but we have company — M^r *Turberville*, M^r *Cunningham*, *George & Lancelot Lee* dined with us — After the ordinary Toasts we were call'd on to Toast Ladies; I gave Miss *Jenny Washington* — The Lee's came over to our School-Room I swear says George, there is no Devil! — There is no Devil, I swear! — He went on in such an impious, & at the same time whimsical & foolish manner, that I left the Room, and went over to M^r & M^{rs} Carter, with whom nothing is heard indecent or profane — After the Company were gone as we were walking near the Poplar Avenue, says M^{rs} Carter how sweet, & pure the Air is; how much the weather resembles September! — Indeed I think it feels like the fever & Ague! — *Bob* in the Evening brought me Colonel Tayloes compliments, who begs I will wait on him soon; He wants to know if I have provided a Tutor for M^{rs} *Thornton* M^r *Leek* told me something about coming, but not til next Spring, & I judge that

Mr^s Thornton will be impatient before that time — Do you now indeed, sincerely, in your Heart, Sir says Ben to me after we had retired to our Chamber, believe that there is a Devil? For my part, tho' I made *George Lee* think otherwise, I do not — I told him that it was universally allowed by writers of the greatest reputation for Learning and Religion in the established Church of England, whose Canons he profess'd to believe & adhere to — And that, if he would attend to my advice, he ought not to doubt its Reality.

Monday 25.

Harry & Bob go shrugging up their backs with their Coats Buttoned about the School, first one then the other complaining of the cold — The Girls too, in their white Frocks, huddle close together for the benefit of warming each other, & look like a Flock of Lambs in the Spring — I wish they were half as innocent — I myself, after having added a Waistcoat, am notwithstanding disagreeably Cold — The air is clear, the wind strong from the West — I proceeded in my Latin Exegesis, & shall, I hope, shortly be through it — I gave to *Nancy* at her Request, my Scetch of *Nominy-Hall* — I propose to take off one for myself —

Teusday 26.

The morning cool enough — Order me a Horse & Chair, says the Colonel after Breakfast, for I must go to Westmoreland-Court — I piddled at my Exegesis, but (as they say here in Virginia) I did a mighty little — Priscilla after School invited me to ride with her, but I had preengaged to go on Board the *Harriot*; She now lies in Nominy about half a mile Distant —

Bob conducted me on board, She is a neat vessel, carries 1400 Bushels — *Bob* strip'd & swam around us half an hour — Coffee; Well, Sir, says the Colonel at last I can treat you with several Letters — My heart jumped — A fine Repast indeed, valuable because exceeding rare! But shall I hear any thing from — *Laura*? — On this he gave me Letters from,

1. Rev^d Enoch Green, Dated Feb: 1774.
2. From *Laura*, Dated Feb: 13th 1774.
3. From John Peck Dated Nassau Hall, July 2. 1774.
4. From John Peck dated Feb: 25th 1774.
5. From the Rev^d Andrew Hunter, dated Cohansie June 24th 1774.
6. From Andrew Hunter Jun^r Dated June 24th 1774. Cohansie.
7. From M^r James Ewing. Dated Bridgetown July 7th 1774.

For these Letters I paid 12^s/5^d — Pennsylvania Currency, & I very proud of my Bargain —

M^r Peck informs me that he is to succeed me in this place — M^r *Hunter* & M^r *Ewing* inform me of the Death of Uncle Ephraim Seeley! That he died of a *Diabetes* which has long troubled him! He has left no Doubt a mourning Family — M^r *Hunter* writes me word that *Andrew* was licensed to preach about the middle of June. *Laura* says — They all express with Concern the great Commotions which at present exist through the Colonies.

Wednesday 27.

Somehow I have taken a bad Cold, & am low-spirited to Day — The Colonel was all the forenoon

down at the *Harriot* in the Sun, so that when he went in to dine he seem'd fatigued & eat nothing — We have an addition to our numerous Family, one M^r — I forgot his name, he is a Cooper, tho', & an Irishman, & seems to be pretty smart; I sat the Evening with him in M^r Randolphs Room.

Thursday 28.

Evening, after the Sun had gone, with *Priss* I walked in the Garden, we gathered some few Figs which are just growing ripe — My leisure to Day I spent in finishing off my Latin Exercises.

Fryday 29.

I feell wholly relieved of my cold — I wrote & sent to the Post a Letter to M^r *John Peck*, to remind & & hurry him in his way here — O! it is very hot — The wind itself seems to be heated! — We have a fine Room, & sufficiently open; & I dress in a thin Waist-Coat, & a loose, light linen Gown; The *Boys*, *Harry* & *Bob* have nothing on, in School, but their shirts & Breeches; & I laugh'd cordially to see the contrivance of *Fanny*, the loveliest of them all, to grow cool, She set on a low bench, & put her Hand in her pocket, & seem'd exceeding diligent in looking for something — But before She took out her hand She had off both her Stockings, & left them both in her pocket! — M^{rs} Carter in particular seems to be overcome with the extreme Heat, & looks like a fainting, expiring yet lovely Creature! — At seven I rode out to the Corn-field, the Sun was almost down, & was hid behind a large thick Cloud where it Thunders — The Corn is roll'd up with the heat & Drouth! Yet it is strange there is no Musquetoës — I have seen one & heard

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another, & this is the whole compliment I have either *seen, heard or felt* since I have been in *Virginia* — While we were drinking *Coffee* the Lightning, as it began to grow Dark, began to stream, it was at some Distance, but was incessant, bright, & awful — The Colonel, however sat, & with unmoved Composure observed it;

Saturday 30.

The Weather is something cooler & bearable this Morning — *Frank Christien* one of M^r *Lowe's* Scholars came to visit *Harry & Bob*, so that I discharged them about eleven, & retired to my Chamber to writing — I sent M^r *George Lee* a note this morning begging him to excuse *Ben & I* from attending his Fish-Feast this Day — Captain *Dobby* dined with us; he is a Man of much Spirit & Humour; A great Mimick —

He acquainted us that at Hobbe's-Hole this Day is a Boat-Race on the River Rappahannock Each Boat is to have 7 Oars: to row 2 Mile out & 2 Miles in round a Boat lying at Anchor — The Bett 50£ — And that in the Evening there is a great Ball to be given — I believe both the *Rowers & dancers*, as well *Ladies as Gentlemen* will perspire freely — Or in plain English they will soak in Sweat! The Captain invited us on Board his Ship next Teusday to Dine with him & wish them a pleasant Passage as the Ship is to Sail the day following — If the Weather is not too burning hot I shall go provided the Others go likewise. *Ben* towards evening rode to Colonel Tayloe's —

Sunday 31.

Daddy *Gumby* saw me walking — I had just got up, it was early I had only a Gown thrown round

me — He walked towards me — Well Master you never call for no Eggs, I can now give you a *Water Melon* — No, Thomas, with your Wife & family enjoy these things, I am well provided for — Well, Master, I promised you Eggs, for writing you will think I never designed to pay you — God yonder in Heaven Master will burn *Lyers* with *Fire & Brimstone* ! I — speak Truth I will not deceive you Men are wicked, Master; look see the Grass is burnt; God burns it to punish us! Is the ground dry, Dadda. O! all dry, all burnt — Pray, Pray, Master, do you go to Church? No Dadda it is too hot — Too hot, Good God, too hot! I shall affront you, Master — Too hot to serve the Lord! Why I that am so old & worn out go on Foot. — I felt a little non pluss'd, I confess, but walk'd to my Room & went none to Church — I expected that we should have had prayrs at home, but it was not mentioned — Fanny towards Evening brought me half a *Water-Melon* — I accepted & thank'd the little pretty chit, she seems so artless, & delicate I esteem her exceedingly — I walked out about Sunset, when it is a little cool, along the River Nominy —

MONDAY August 1st 1774.

The Colonel rode to Richmond Court — The morning very hot — A Cloud appeared about two o Clock as we were going to Dinner in the West where it thundered — M^{rs} Carter kept her Chamber — There is almost no Rain — I looked to day over Dr Burney's¹ present State of Musick in Germany. — I

¹ Dr. Charles Burney's *Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces* (Lond. 2 v. 8vo, 1773); but he is best known by his *General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (Lond., 4 v. 4to, 1776-89).

think it more entertaining than really useful—— Ben to Day begun the *Encid*—— Poor Mr. *Randolph* seems to be sickening with the *Ague & Fever* ! —— Evening the Colonel returned & gave us Captain Dobby's repeated Invitation.

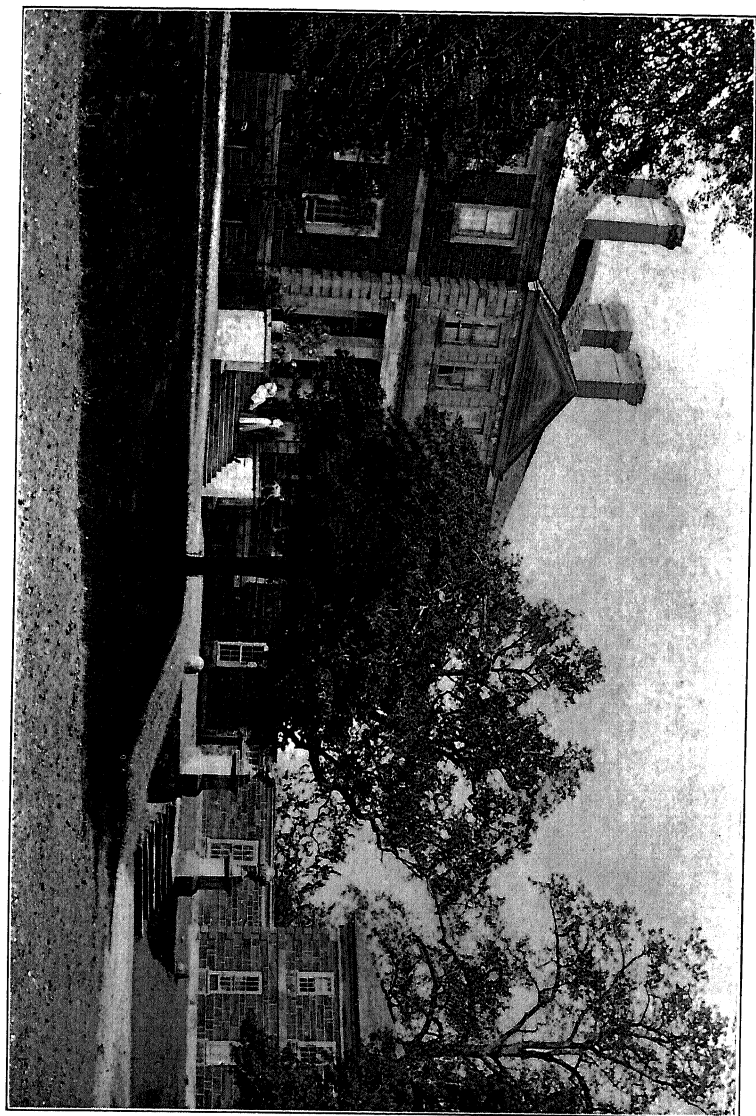
Tuesday 2.

Ben & I drest ourselves pretty early with an intention to Breakfast with Colonel *Tayloe*, but the Servant who went with us was so slow in preparing that we breakfasted before we set out—— We arrived at Colonel *Tayloe's*¹ however by half after nine—— The young Ladies we found in the Hall playing the Harpsichord—— The morning cool with a fine Breeze from the North for I forgot to mention that about Midnight last Night a violent Gust of Blackness, Rain, & Thunder came on & gave us present relief from the scorching Sun; there was no Dust & the riding was pleasant—— The Colonel, his Lady, Miss Polly,² Miss Kitty, Miss Sally, rode in their Great Coach to the Ferry—— Distance about 4 miles—— Ben & I on Horseback—— From Colonel *Tayloe's* to this Ferry opposite to *Hobb's Hole* the Land is level & extremely good; Corn here looks very rank is set thick with Ears, & they are high & large, three commonly on a Stalk—— Here I saw about an Acre & a half of Flax, which the people were just pulling, exceedingly out of Season—— This is the only Flax I have seen since I have been in the Colony; I am told they raise much in the upper Counties—— Here too is a great Marsh covered with thick high Reed—— The Face of this part of the Country looks fertile, but I apprehend it is far from being healthy

¹ Colonel John *Tayloe* of Mount Airy. See note 2, page 148.

² See note 2, page 149.

MOUNT AIRY
Richmond County Virginia



—— We came to the Bank of the Rappahannock; it is here about 2 Miles over the Shipping on the other Side near the Town lying at Anchor looks fine; no large Vessels can haul along the Wharves on account of shoal Water —— There were six Ships riding in the Harbour, and a number of Schooners & smaller Vessels —— Indeed, says M^{rs} Tayloe, Captain Dobby has forgot us, here we have been waiting for a full half hour, shall we take the Ferry Boat Colonel & cross over, & not stand any longer in the burning heat? —— I was pleased not a little with the proposal, tho' at the same time, I laughed with myself at M^{rs} Tayloe's truly Womanish impatience! —— At last they are coming —— The long-Boat came, well furnished with a large Awning, and rowed with four Oars —— We entered the Ship about half after twelve where we were received by Captain *Dobby*, with every possible token of welcome ——

Since I have been in Virginia, my inclination, & my fixed purpose before I left home, both of which were very much assisted by a strict Attention to the instructing my little Charge, these have kept me pretty constantly, almost wholly, indeed out of that kind of Company where dissipation & Pleasure have no restraint —— This entertainment of Captain Dobby's, elegant indeed, & exceeding agreeable, I consider as one among a prodigious throng of more powerful similar Causes, of the fevers & other Disorders which are common in this Colony, & generally attributed to the Climate which is thought to be noxious & unhealthy. The Weather here indeed is remarkably variable But taking away & changing the usual and necessary Time of Rest; Violent Exercise of the Body & Spirits; with drinking great quantities of variety of Liquors, these

bring on Virginia Fevers——The Beaufort is a stately Ship; Captain Dobby had an Awning from the Stern over the Quarter quite to the Mizzen-Mast, which made great Room, kept off the Sun, & yet was open on each Side to give the Air a free passage. At three we had on Board about 45 Ladies, and about 60 Gentlemen besides the Ships Crew, & Waiters Servants &c. We were not throng'd at all, & dined all at twice——I was not able to inform myself, because it seemed improper to interrupt the General pleasure, with making circumstantial inquiries concerning Individuals, & saying pray, Sir, what young Lady is that yonder in a Lute-String Gown? She seems genteel; where does her Father live? Is she a Girl of Family & Breeding? Has She any Suitors? This when one could not be out of the Inspection of the Company, would have seemed impertinent so that I did not much enlarge my Acquaintance with the Ladies, which commonly seems pleasing & desirable to me; But I took Notice of Several, & shall record my remarks——

The Boats were to Start, to use the Language of Jockeys, immediately after Dinner; A Boat was anchored down the River at a Mile Distance——Captain *Dobby* and Captain *Benson* steer'd the Boats in the Race——Captain *Benson* had 5 Oarsmen; Captain *Dobby* had 6——It was *Ebb-Tide*——The Betts were small——& chiefly given to the Negroes who rowed——Captain *Benson* won the first Race——Captain *Purchase* offered to bett ten Dollars that with the same Boat & same Hands, only having Liberty to put a small Weight in the Stern, he would beat Captain *Benson*——He was taken, & came out best only half the Boats Length——About Sunset we left the Ship, & went all to Hobb's Hole, where a *Ball* was agreed on

— This is a small Village, with only a few Stores, & Shops, it is on a beautiful River, & has I am told commonly six, eight, & ten Ships loading before it the Crews of which enliven the Town — M^r Ritche Merchant;¹ he has great influence over the People, he has great Wealth; which in these scurvy Times gives Sanction to Power; nay it seems to give countenance to Tyranny —

THE BALL ROOM.

25 Ladies — 40 Gentlemen — The Room very long, well-finished, airy & cool, & well-seated — two Fidlers — M^r *Ritche* stalk'd about the Room — He was Director, & appointed a sturdy two fisted Gentleman to open the Ball with M^{rs} *Tayloe* — He danced midling tho'. There were about six or eight married Ladies — At last Miss *Ritche* danced a Minuet with — She is a tall slim Girl, dances nimble & graceful — She was *Ben Carters* partner — Poor Girl She has had the third Day Ague for twelve months past, and has it yet She appeared in a blue Silk Gown; her Hair was done up neat, without powder, it is very Black & Set her to good Advantage — Soon after her danced Miss *Dolly Edmundson* — A Short pretty Stump of a Girl; She danced well, sung a Song with great applause, seemed to enter into the Spirit of the entertainment — A young Spark seemed to be fond of her; She seemed to be fond of him; they were both fond, & the Company saw it — He was M^r Ritche's Clerk, a limber, well dress'd, pretty-handsome Chap he was — The insinuating Rogue waited on her home, in close

¹This was Archibald Ritchie, father of the celebrated Thomas Ritchie, who was for many years editor of the Richmond "Enquirer," and afterwards (1845-49) of the "Union," the organ of the Polk administration.

Hugg too, the moment he left the Ball-Room — Miss *Aphia Fantleroy*¹ danced next, the best dancer of the whole absolutely — And the finest Girl — Her head tho' was powdered white as Snow, & crap'd in the newest Taste — She is the Copy of the goddess of Modesty — Very handsome; she seemed to be loved by all her Acquaintances, and admired by every Stranger, Miss *McCall* — Miss *Ford* — Miss *Brokenberry*² — *Ball* — Two of the younger Miss *Ritche's* — Miss *Wade* — They danced till half after two, Captain Ritche invited Ben & I, Colonel Tayloe & his Family with him — We got to Bed by three after a Day spent in constant Violent exercise, & drinking an unusual Quantity of Liquor; for my part with Fatigue, Heat, Liquor, Noise, Want of sleep, And the exertion of my Animal spirits, I was almost brought to believe several times that I felt a Fever fixing upon me, attended with every Symptom of the Fall Disorders —

Wednesday 3.

We were call'd up to Breakfast at half after eight — We all look'd dull, pale, & haggard! — From our Beds to Breakfast — Here we must drink Hot Coffee on our parching Stomachs! — But the Company was enlivening — Three of the Miss Tayloe's — Three Miss Ritche's — And Miss *Fantleroy* — This loveliest of all the *Ring* is yet far below — *Laura* If they were set together for the choice of an utter Stranger; he would not reflect, but in a moment spring to the Girl that I mean to regard — After Breakfast the

¹A daughter of Col. William Fauntleroy of Richmond County. She married Captain John Champe Carter of Revolutionary fame, a nephew of Charles Carter of Shirley.

young Ladies favoured us with several Tunes on the Harpsichord—— They all play & most of them in good Taste—— at eleven we went down to the River; the Ships Long Boat was waiting, Captain *Purchase* of the *Beaufort*, helped us on Board—— I gave the Boatswain a Pisterene for his trouble—— Half a Bit for the Pasture of my Horse—— We rode to Colonel Tayloe's—— The Ladies all retired for a nap before Dinner, we sat in the Hall, & conversed with the Colonel a sensible, agreeable Sociable person—— Miss *Garrot* is Governess of the young Ladies; she too is chatty, satirical, neat, civil, had many merry remarks at Dinner, we staid till about six took our Leave, & rode Home—— Found all well; gave an account of ourselves, of our entertainment, & of our Company to M^r. & M^{rs} Carter at Coffee—— & retired soon to Bed——

Thursday 4.

I made out to get up by seven—— A little fatigued tho'—— Many are sickening with a Fever, & great numbers have the Ague—— Protect me if it be thy will, God of my Life, & give me a Heart to praise thy name for all my Favours—— Dined with us the Inspector—— I walked through the Garden, several times banishing my solitude, as much as possible reflecting on several Days past.

Fryday 5.

I have no Stockings, & I swear I wont go to the Dancing School This was the first I heard of *Bob*—— Are Bob & Nancy gone to M^r. *Turberville's* said the Colonel at Breakfast—— *Nancy* is gone Sir, Bob stays at Home he has no shoes!—— poh! What nonsense! says the Colonel—— He sent M^r. Randolph to the Store

for a pair of Shoes, Bob he took to his Study and flogg'd severely for not having given seasonable Notice, & sent him instantly to the Dance ——

Saturday 6.

Last night, & this morning haizy mistty the Wind South East threatens a Rain —— Transcribing my pieces, yesterday and to Day —— I had a strong invitation to Dr Thompsons Fish-Feast, but the Rainy Weather hindred; I spent the Day in Quiet in my Chamber writing —— Dadda Gumby sent me a small Water-Melon.

Sunday 7.

I set out for Church —— It was cloudy, it Thundered in the West; But I rode on Bob was with me —— We arrived at the Church & had our Saddles put into a Chariot —— When a violent Gust came on —— We were all in the Church; many Ladies were present —— The Thunder was violent! Many discovered great Terror —— Neither the Parson, nor Clerk attended —— There we sat in Silence til the Storm was over, when each sallied out & splashed homewards —— Mr & Mrs Carter were to have gone by Water —— They had set off But saw the Cloud befor they had rowed far, & wisely returned —— Towards Evening Miss *Betsy Carter*, Miss *Polly Carter*¹ of Richmond, & Miss *Turberville* came over to see our Girls. Miss Betsy plays the Harpsichord extremely well, better I think than any young Lady I have seen in Virginia.

¹ Daughters of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, in Richmond County.
See note 1, page 201.

Monday 8.

All once more in School——Dined with us *George Lee* & *Mr Grubb*——They spent the afternoon at the great House——After Coffee *Lee* rode Home——*Mr Grubb* staid with us all night——*Dennis* came into our Room to bring us a Bowl of Punch; *Grubb* shut the Door, and accused him of having been caught with *Bett*, the Dairy Girl, in the Stable last Saturday Night——*Dennis* seem'd in great distress, he denied the Fact tho' with great steadiness——*Nelson* our Boy came in with a candle——*Dennis* here, says *Grubb* to *Nelson*, has been accusing you, Sir, of several crimes; he says you gave him half a *Bitt* last Saturday Night, to stand at the Stable-Door while he with *Bett*——*Nelson* star'd——*Grubb* opened a huge *Molls Atlas* that lay in the Room; & read off their Case & indictment——The Boys seem'd crazy——We dismiss'd them when all the novelty was over, but they darted like Indians so soon as they were at liberty——We sat up til eleven——*Ben* drank for his Toast, Miss *Julia Stockton*¹ of New Jersey; *Grubb* Miss *Betsy Carter*——I with pleasure the Rival of them all——

Teusday 9.

I propose to visit *Dr Jones* to Day, say's *Mrs Carter* at Breakfast——See & have the Carriage ready for me by ten o-Clock *Benny*——She took with her *Priss*, & *Nancy*——We have a thin School——*Mr Grubb* dined with us——Staid til evening, when with *Ben* he rode home——I finished & glad enough I feel my Latin Thesis——The Weather is now very tolerable, we had to Day a fine Shower about twelve——

¹ Perhaps *Julia*, daughter of *Richard Stockton*, the Signer, who married *Benjamin Rush*, M.D.

Wednesday 10.

All in School — Miss *Fanny* very much troubled with the festered Bites of *Seed Ticks* — M^r *Stadley*, whom I always see with Pleasure came towards evening — After School he gave the Girls a lesson each — About Six we have a fine Shower, with Thunder and Lightning, especially in the evening the Lightning Sharp.

Thursday 11.

Dined with us two Gentlemen Names unknown — They informed us that a Flux is in a neighbouring County, of which many die! — The Ague too is growing frequent *Fanny* has a fit this afternoon — I begin to be a little alarmed at the early approach of these Disorders, which I fear will be distressful here! Through the kindness of heaven I am yet in perfect health — M^r *Carter* & M^r *Stadley* performed both on the *harmonica* I am charm'd with the Sounds! The melody is swelling, grave & grand! The weather vastly hot —

Fryday 12.

Very hot — *Sam* our Barber is Seized with the Ague & Fever — *Fanny* is confined to her chamber with a Fever occasioned, I am apt to believe, by the inflamed bites of the *Seed-Ticks*, which cover her like a distinct Small Pox. — Dined with us by particular invitation, M^r *Turberville's* Family, and Miss *Betsy Lee* — The conversation at Table was on the Disorders which seem growing to be epidemical, *Fevers, Agues, Fluxes* — A gloomy train! — Fearing these, I keep myself at home; make my diet sparing & uniform; Use constant moderate Exercise; Drink as little Wine as

possible, & when I must drink Toasts I never fail to dilute them well with Water; I omit almost every kind of fruit; & make my time for *Sleeping* from Night to Night the same, Viz to Bed by ten, & rise by six invariably — I never lived so much by Rule as I do this Summer; & I am taught the Art, & have a Steady example in Mr. & Mrs. *Carter* — Mr. *Stadley* played on the Harpsichord & harmonica several Church Tunes & Anthems, with great propriety —

Saturday 13.

Prissy took the Ague last Night, She had an easy Fit — This Morning is quite cold, & will, I fear hasten on or at least provoke the present disorders — The good Mr. *Stadley* left us this morning Breakfasted with us a Gentleman from Maryland. At Dinner he was join'd by another from the same Province they are both unknown — I rode out with Miss *Prissy* to the Cornfield for Exercise — We gathered & brought home some good Roasting-Ears of Corn — Evening came in Colonel *Henry Lee* He is chosen¹ to be one of the seven who represent this Colony in the general Congress to be held next month in Philadelphia — He starts out next Sunday night —

Sunday 14.

Colonel *Lee* stays Breakfast (to Speak in the phrase of Ladies) — The morning fine — Sermon is to Day at Ucomico so that I am to stay in my Room; *Ben*, however, & *Bob*, & *Harry*, & Mr. *Randolph* all go — *Fanny* is yet confin'd to her Chamber —

¹ By the first convention of Virginia, August 1-6, 1774. Richard Henry Lee is intended.

Monday 15.

Began a Letter to Jack Peck, giving him advice in Respect to his coming into this Colony——The People are better, only Miss *Fanny* with her Sores continues in her Chamber; I bought & sent her however this evening a present a large *Musk Melon*——Dined with us Squire *Lee*, he talks of going to Philadelphia to the Congress; He informs us that in Maryland is a Tea-Ship, from the India Company——

Tuesday 16.

The Colonel is summoned to a Meeting of Vestry-Men,¹ at the Glebe——Nothing very extraordinary occurs, unless I mention that *Bob* in the former part of this Day kept very quiet in his Seat, and worked out three Sums in Reduction compound without much direction!——About five from the South East came on suddenly a Gust of Rain & Wind, Evening the Colonel returned but a good deal vexed——One of the Members were absent so that the Remainder could do no Business——

Wednesday 17.

This Day is the annual Examination at Nassau-Hall——I wish the candidates Success, & Honour. Last year I had the Pleasure to be present & hear the Examination——I saw *Laura* too; & the Vixen abused me! She shall repent of that insult; Indeed She must feel, tho' I wound myself in the experiment, the Conse-

¹ A list of the Vestry of Cople Parish in 1755, as given in Meade's *Old Churches of Virginia*, is as follows: "John Bushrod, Daniel Tibbs, Richard Lee ("Squire" Lee of Lee Hall), Benedict Middleton, Willowby Newton, Robert Middleton, George Lee, John Newton, Samuel Oldham, Robert Carter, Fleet Cox, and Thomas Steptoe."

quence of Slighting good-humour & Civility — There likewise I saw *Belinda*¹ my late agreeable Correspondent. She had left town this unlovely Month, for the Benefit of Princeton's pure salubrious Air — She laboured in a Consumption There too I took my last fare-well! — For soon after her return to Town the disorder fixed, & in a few Months destroy'd a *wise, useful, religious* Girl — Her death surely was untimely, since she took with her all her virtues, which, with great pleasure & Sincerity She used to diffuse among her giddy Equals! — I am at a Loss to express my feeling for the Death of a young Lady, with whom I had only a short, yet a beneficial Intimacy — The Circumstance of my first Acquaintance with her was wholly Accidental, yet I soon believed & accounted it advantageous — I thought her capable of improving me with Sentiment, & I speedily found that my expectation was true — We commenced a Litterary Correspondence, of which I only say that She always express'd herself with so much *Truth, Ease & Humour* as to make me read her Letters with eagerness and satisfaction — If I would record a Motto for her, it Should be — “Virtue without Melancholy.” Breakfasted & dined with us two Gentlemen from Maryland — They came over for the benefit of M^r *Carter's* Mill; as Mills are scarce near the Potowmack in Maryland; but the reason I am a stranger to — Read some in D^r Swift — Writing on to M^r Peck — The weather is close & this evening I heard two Musquetoës, only one of which ventured to light upon me — I dare say they are thicker at Cohansie! — Each Wednesday & Saturday we dine on Fish all the Summer, always plenty of *Rock, Perch, & Crabs*, & often Sheeps-Head and Trout!

¹ Probably Polly Bullock, mentioned on page 155.

Thursday 18.

Very ill most of last night with a violent Dysentery; I fear a frequency of this disease will at length fix & ruin me¹——It continues to Day, & with no less rage, I cannot eat nor drink, am low Spirited Think constantly of Home; —— Sometimes repent my having come into this Colony, & blame myself for having been persuaded to turn out of my road to public Business —— But when I reflect closely I justify the Conduct, & resign myself *Body & Soul & Employment* to God who has the Hearts of all in his hand, & who I am persuaded, if he has anything for me to do in Life, will preserve, & in a measure fit me for it, if not, I am in his Hand, let him do as seems good in his Eyes —— At Dinner the Colonel invited me to ride with him to a Mill of his which is repairing, about eight miles Distance; I accepted his Invitation, gave the children a few Hours for Play, & went with the Colonel *Ben* was along —— The Face of the earth seems covered with mocking-Birds, but not one of them sing, they seem vastly busy but it is in collecting Food —— Not a bird, except now & then *Robbin-Redbreast* is heard to sing in this Feverish Month —— Nature seems cheerless and gloomy! The Evening is hot, but the Ride was agreeable, it was useful too; for I grew much better; The Jolting of the Horse seemed salutary, my Pain subsided, I returned almost wholly relieved in the evening, drank my Coffee, went soon to my Room, gave thanks to my divine *restorer*, & laid me down to rest ——

¹ A foreboding soon to be realized. Falling a victim to this malady, which ravaged the army camps, Philip Fithian died in the service of his country, October 8, 1776.

Fryday 19.

I slept through the night in *quiet* and ease, & rose perfectly relieved. M^r *Carter* at Breakfast advised me to take with him Some *Salt-Petre*, as a useful *Dieu-retick* but I declin'd — M^r *Grubb* came in about twelve o'clock from *Sabine-Hall*. Colonel *Carter*¹ gave an Entertainment yesterday to celebrate his Birth-day; & had a numerous & gay Company. — This young Gentleman (M^r *Grubb*) appears to be a person of Capacity & Improvement; he was Educated in England, & has been assistant to a Merchant on James's River in this Colony for some time past. This Summer he has been totally Idle — He proposes week after week to set out for Williamsburg, & Sail thence home, but he stays, He has much good nature, is an agreeable companion — I pity him. — He seems fond of Miss *Betsy Lee* — But he is too fluctuating in his mind to settle there, or with any Girl whatever yet —

Saturday 20.

Ben, M^r *Taylor*, M^r *Grubb*, & *Harry* went to the Potowmack to a Fish Feast — Come, Fithian, what do you mean by keeping hived up sweating in your Room — Come out & air yourself — But I choose to stick by the Stuff. The Colonel too, very kindly, offered me a Seat in his Chariot to Nomini Court House, but I declin'd M^r *Lane* & M^r *Warden* came in towards evening — Both in high Spirits, But M^r *Lane* was (as they say) “Half Seas over” — they sat & chated noisily til nine — Evening clear & full Moon,

¹ Col. Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, in Richmond County, an uncle of the Councillor's. Sabine Hall is still standing; it was built by Col. Landon Carter in 1730, and remains today a fine type of the old colonial houses of Virginia.

& very light — Our neighbourhood seems alive with little Negro Boys playing in every part —

Sunday 21.

Nomini Church — Parson Smith gave us after Prayrs, which he was obliged to read himself, a useful Sermon; poor man he seemed to labour hard — Dined with us Captain *Walker*, Mr. *Lane*, Mrs. *Lane*, Mr. *Wadman*, Mr. *Warden*.

Soon after Dinner I left the company & retired to my chamber where I seem commonly most happy —

Monday 22.

Mr. *Grubb* & Ben returned last evening — They spent their Day in Richmond¹ — I wrote to day several letters to Philadelphia One to Miss *Webster*. To her Brother. To *John McCalla* junr — To Mr. Donald — These I send by 'Squire *Lee* who is to be of the Party — After School *Ben*, *Grubb*, & Myself rode to the 'Squires — He took us into his Garden, shewed and gave us great Plenty of fine Peaches, *Nectarines* &c

He has a large Garden, & great abundance of fruit — His People were shaking the trees to prepare the Peaches for Brandy.

Teusday 23.

Blessed be God who yet preserves me in perfect health — *Priss* has another fitt of the Ague these Disorders are giving Alarms, in a few Weeks I suppose they will grow numerous & troublesome — A violent Gust of Wind, Rain, & some Thunder we had about twelve o Clock, the Country seems to be afloat — I received this Morning a Note from a School Master in

¹ i. e., Richmond County.

the Village, who signs himself "Brother Quill." He sends me with his compliments a Question. To multiply $12\text{£}-12^s-12^d$ by itself in Cross multiplication — And tells me the Answer is $160\text{£}-1^s-6^d$ his way, Viz by Decimals — I did not alter his answer, but suffered him to continue satisfied with his own performance.

Wednesday 24.

Stormy — A poor Man arrived from Maryland with Grain to grind. It was wet — He saw M^r *Carter* and M^r *Randolph* — M^r *Randolph* wore a red Coat — the Marylander asked *Bob* which was the master of the House — *Bob* with his usual impudence answered, the Man you see drest in a scarlet Coat — Who then says he is the other in a frowsled Wig? — He is says *Bob* my fathers Clerk — The Colonel heard this Anecdote of *Bob*, which entertained him, While we were dining. I hear nothing of the Ague abroad, it seems to go by turns, sometimes brief then exceeding scarce — All this day the wind North East rainy.

Thursday 25.

Still stormy. The Gentlemen who are sailing up the Bay to the Congress have a disagreeable time — This is a true August Northeaster, as we call it in Cohansie — *Ben* is in a wonderful *Fluster* lest he shall have no company to-morrow at the Dance — But blow high, blow low, he need not be afraid; *Virginians* are of genuine Blood — They will dance or die! — I wrote some at my Letter for M^r *Peck* — The people here pronounce Shower "Sho-er" — And what in New-Jersey we call a Vendue here they call a "Sale" — All Taverns they call "Ordinary's" — When a Horse is frolicsome & brisk, they, say at once he is

“gayly”——she is mischievous, they call him “vicious”——At five, with *Bob*, I rode out for exercise——After a while we arrived at *George Lees*——He gave us some excellent Peaches——He returned with us to M^r Turberville’s——We met here with Miss *Betsy Lee*, M^r *Grubb*, *Lancelot Lee* & here we spent the evening——*Fish-Feasts*, & *Fillies*, Loud disputes concerning the Excellence of each others Colts——Concerning their Fathers, Mothers (for so they call the Dams) Brothers, Sisters, Uncles, Aunts, Nephews, Nieces, & Cousins to the fourth Degree!——All the Evening Toddy constantly circulating——Supper came in, & at Supper I had a full, broad, sattsifying View of Miss *Sally Panton*——I wanted to hear her converse, but poor Girl anything she attempted to say was drowned in the more polite & useful Jargon about Dogs & Horses——For my Part, as I was unwilling to be singular, if I attempted to push in a word, I was seldom heard, & never regarded, & yet they were constantly refering their Cases to me, as to a supposed honest fellow, I suppose because I wear a black Coat, & am generally silent; at Home I am thought to be noisy enough; here I am thought to be silent & circumspect as a *Spy*——How different the Manners of the People! I try to be as cheerful as I can, & yet I am blamed for being stupid as a Nun——

Fryday 26.

M^r Christian came while we were at Breakfast——Soon after came Miss *Washington*, Miss *Hale* & the Miss *Lee’s*——I kept myself in my Room pretty Close——Towards evening M^{rs} *Carter*, Miss *Washington*, Miss *Hale*, M^{rs} *Christien* & *Myself* had a thorough ramble, first thro’ the Garden——We gathered some Figs, the

Ladies seem fond of them, I cannot endure them — Then we stroll'd down the Pasture quite to the River admiring the Pleasantness of the evening & the delightful prospect of the River, Hills, Huts on the Summits, low Bottoms, Trees of various Kinds, and Sizes, Cattle & Sheep feeding some near us, & others at a great distance on the green sides of the Hills, People, some fishing, others working, & others in the Pasture among the Horses; — The Country emphatically in her goodly Variety! I love to walk on these high Hills where I can see the Tops of tall Trees lower than my Feet, at not half a miles Distance — Where I can have a long View of many Miles & see on the Summits of the Hills Clusters of Savin Trees through these often a little Farm-House, or Quarter for Negroes; these airy Situations seem to me to be the Habitations of Health, and Vigor — We returned, & all were apparently well satisfied with the walk — Evening was spent jovially in Dancing, at Supper, I left the Company, being not very well, & retired to my Chamber, Thanks to my heavenly Father, that I can enjoy a competent Measure of Health when many are sick around — A note from M^r Lowe. Miss *Betsy Lee*, & her Brother came in just at night — Miss *Lee* seems cheerful, dances well, sings agreeably, appears free of formality, & Haughtiness the Common foible here —

Saturday 27.

The morning spent in setting coppies, Sums &c. for the School — After Breakfast, I spent a couple of Hours in the Dancing-Room — M^r *Lee* in our Room raved against the Scotch — He swore that if his Sister should marry a Scotchman, he would never speak with her again; & that if he ever Shall have a

Daughter, if She marries a Scotchman he shoots her dead at once! — At twelve I rode to M^r Washingtons, the Country extremely pleasant Dined with the Parson, his Brother, M^{rs} Smith, Miss Pettit, M^r Blain-M^r Buckner, & several of M^r Lowes Boys; M^r Lowe was from home, On my return I found no company, except *Grubb* who has come in my absence. We spent the Evening after sipping our Coffee, in Chat with M^r & M^{rs} Carter.

Sunday 28.

M^r *Grubb* rose very early, having yesterday made every previous necessary preparation, & set out for Home about One hundred miles Distance.

He has so much good Nature, is always so cheerful, & at the same time void of anything malicious, clamorous & impudent, that I cannot but esteem & very much respect him — On some whimsical unsubstantial Miff or other, however, our Girls cannot endure him — he wrote them some Copies the other Day, & tho' he writes a much finer neater hand than I they would not allow it, nor hardly — Strive to imitate — I laughed at the ridiculous, the perfect Picture of Female *Caprice*, & *Obstinacy* in Miniature — Sermon is to Day at Ucomico, so that I keep my Room — I wrote several Letters which are to be forwarded by M^r *Blain*, one to *Jack Peck*, one to *John Duffield*,¹ at D^r Shippen's Jun^r ² Philadelphia, & one to *Laura*. I begun also a Sermon. I understand by M^{rs} *Carter* &

¹ John Duffield graduated from Princeton College in 1773, and was a tutor at that institution from 1773-75.

² William Shippen, Jr. (1736-1806) was graduated from Princeton College in 1754, and delivered the valedictory for his class. He studied medicine in England under Dr. John Hunter and Dr. McKenzie, and graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1761. Returning to America, he commenced the practice of his

Ben who were at Church, that the *Parson* was unable to read Prayers or Preach, having a Fever, but that there was a thronged Assembly; many I am told, have the Ague & Fever, but none are dangerous or have it fixed —

Monday 29.

Miss *Fanny* in School to Day, but not entirely well of her Sores made by the *Ticks* — *Ben* complains of a pain in his breast; he seems to have many symptoms of Weakness in his breast — I attempted to take a rough Draught of the Great House for myself — Evening after Coffee the Colonel entertained us by playing on the Harmonica.

Tuesday 30.

Mr Carter rides to Westmoreland Court By him I send my Letters to *Mr Blain*, who is going to the Congress — *Ben* seems to be no better; has a slight Fever, pain in his Breast, & Uneasiness, I fear he is bordering on a Consumption — His fond Mother discovers great Anxiety, & true affection. Once I too had a fond indulgent Mother; when I was sick, or otherwise distress'd, She was always impatient til my Health

profession at Philadelphia, and on Nov. 16th, 1762, began the first course of lectures on anatomy ever delivered in this country, notice of which was published in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* for Nov. 11th, 1762. Dr. Shippen's School of Anatomy continued until the 23rd of Sept., 1765, when he was chosen professor of anatomy and surgery in the newly established medical school of the College of Philadelphia, which was the first in America. He was appointed chief physician of the Flying Camp, July 15, 1776, and on April 11, 1777, was unanimously elected "Director-General of all the Military Hospitals for the Armies of the United States." Dr. Shippen was charged with improper administration of his office, which led him to resign in 1781, but an investigation before a military court failed to disclose any matters reflecting on his integrity. (*Appleton's Cyclopedia of America Biography.*)

& Ease returned; & She used to urge me likewise by precept & example to strive for an habitual Preparation for Sickness & Death! But oh! She has gone & left me, & Friendship seems to have been buried with her! — Formality & Pretence are common enough, but Sincerity & affection are exceeding are — *M^{rs} Carter* thinks it better for *Ben* to sleep at the Great-House til he grows better, for the advantage of giving him medicine — I seem now when it is late in the Evening, lonely, & a little fearful, at least I think on what I made a subject for a merry Hour, when I was at Home last, & a young Lady was complaining of being fearful at Night, & afraid to sleep in a Room alone — There are now (asleep I suppose) in this House, below Stairs *M^r Randolph*, & *M^r Burney* the Cooper; two clever lusty youngsters, & in the Room next to mine *Bob* & *Harry* sleep — I feel yet gloomy; *Ben* is missing, & which is worse, he is sick —

Wednesday 31.

Last Fryday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Teusday, & this Day have been perfectly fair, but yesterday & to Day are very hot — *Ben* quits reading & is quite unwell — Dined with us *M^r Wadman*; He is, I believe, a Man of good understanding, but desperate in his religious Principles —

THURSDAY Septemb^r 1st 1774.

One other *Calm, sunny, sweltering* day The Colonel says it is the hottest Day we have had — I keep myself caged up in my Room, & cannot venture out on my usual *walk* or Ride for exercise — Through divine goodness I continue in perfect Health, but as skinny & meagre as tho' I was continually sick — *Ben* seems

a little more pert today — Evening it Lightens in the North West.

Fryday 2.

Extreme hot today — Yesterday a Negro Child about six years old sickened as to appearance with the Ague & Fever, & to Day about eleven in the morning it expired! It is remarkable that the Mother has now lost seven successively, none of which have arrived to be ten years old! — The Negroes all seem much alarmed, & our School make it a Subject for continual Speculation; They seem all to be free of any terror at the Presence of Death; *Harry* in special signified a Wish that his turn may be next. I should be glad if his desire were wise; & he was as fit for the business of the other world, as he seems willing to leave the business of this — In the evening this unexpected Death was the Subject of Conversation in the House — Mr. *Carter* observed, that he thought it the most desirable to die of a Short Illness. If he could have his Wish he would not lie longer than two days; be taken with a Fever, which should have such an unusual effect on his Body as to convince him that it would be fatal, and gradually increase till it effected a Dissolution — He told us that his affairs are in such a state that he should be able to dictate a Will which might be written in five Minutes, & contain the disposal of his estate agreeable to his mind — He mentioned to us the Substance — “That he would leave Mr^s *Carter* 6000£ Sterling; & leave the remainder of his Estate to be disposed among his children as the Law directs.”

He told us likewise, with great firmness, that if he lives to see his children grown, he will pay no regard

to age, but give his wealth to Him who bids fairest to be useful to mankind—— That he allows all an equal opportunity of improvement, but the One who is found then improved shall with the Learning inherit also the Substance—— *Dennis* the Lad who waits at Table, I took into the School to day at his Fathers request, He can spell words of one syllable pretty readily. He is to come as he finds opportunity.

Saturday 3.

Indeed says M^{rs} Carter at Breakfast, the Lightning, Rain, & Thunder, disturbed me, & kept me padding from Room to Room all Night; I first had the Girls Beds removed as far as possible from the Chimneys—— then had lights placed in the passage; and then but without *rest* or *pleasure*, I wandered through the house silent & lonely like a disturbed Ghost! —— It has however effected an agreeable change in the Air; which is now cool & agreeable. I was invited this morning by Captain *Fibbs* to a *Barbecue*: this differs but little from the Fish Feasts, instead of Fish the Dinner is roasted *Pig*, with the proper appendages, but the Diversion & exercise are the very same at both —— I declined going and pleaded in excuse unusual & unexpected Business for the School —— By appointment is to be fought this Day near M^r *Lanes* two fist Battles between four young Fellows. The Cause of the battles I have not yet known; I suppose either that they are lovers, & one has in Jest or reality in some way supplanted the other; or has in a merry hour call'd him a *Lubber*, or a *thick-Skull*, or a *Buckskin*, or a *Scotchman*, or perhaps one had mislaid the others hat, or knocked a peach out of his Hand, or offered him a dram without wiping the mouth of the Bottle; All

these, & ten thousand more quite as trifling & ridiculous, are thought & accepted as just Causes of immediate Quarrels, in which every diabolical Stratagem for Mastery is allowed & practised, of Bruising, Kicking, Scratching, Pinching, Biting, Butting, Tripping, Throtling, Gouging, Cursing, Dismembring, Howling, &c. This spectacle, (so loathsome & horrible!) generally is attended with a crowd of People! In my opinion, (others may think for themselves) animals which seek after & relish such odious and filthy amusements are not of the human species, they are destitute of the remotest pretension to humanity; I know not how they came by their form, by the help of which they are permitted to associate with Men, unless it has been (unfortunate for the World!) by an intermixture of the meaner kind of Devils with prostitute Monkeys! — This, however, I cannot determine; But I think all such should be deemed by the community infectious, & suspended at least any kind of intercourse, til, either the lineage be settled & recorded, or those shrew'd Characteristicks of a spurious illegitimate claim to kindred with men be in a good Measure abated.

Sunday 4.

We had last night a flood of rain, the wind North East stormy — No Church to Day — Mr Carter sent down to his Mill-Dam, & channel all his people to try if they can secure them; he gives them Rum, & a Shilling a man —

I read Prayrs, by the desire of the Parents, at the Grave over the deceased Child *Priscilla, Nancy, Fanny, Betsy, Ben, Bob, Harry, & Myself*, & about forty or fifty Negroes were present. Neither the Father nor the Mother of the Child went out; imitating the example

they see in others, & stay from an affectation of overflowing Grief.

Monday 5.

There is a wonderful *To do*, this morning among the House keeper & children, at the great house. They assert that a Man or a Spirit came into 'the Nursery about one o-Clock this morning — That if it was indeed a Spirit the Cause of his appearance is wholly unknown; but if it was Flesh & blood they are pretty confident that the design was either to rob the House, or commit fornication with *Sukey*, (a plump, sleek, likely Negro Girl about sixteen) — That the doors & windows were well secured, but that by some secret manner, unknown to all, the *Thing* opened the Cellar door, went through the Cellar, & up the narrow dark Stairs (which are used only on necessary occasions, as when the great Stair way is washing or on some such account) — That it left the said Cellar door standing open, & besides unbar'd & threw open the East Window in the little Room, in order, as they wisely supposed, to have, if it should be hurried, a ready passage out — That it had previously put a small wedge in the Lock of the Nursery Door, where several of the young Ladies, & the said *Sukey* sleep, so that when they were going to Bed they could not Lock nor bolt the door, but this they all believed was done in mischief by the children, & went thereupon to bed, without suspicion of harm, with the door open — That *Sukey* some time in the Night discovered Something lying by her Side which she knew to be a Man by his having Breeches — That she was greatly surprised, & cry'd out suddenly to the others that a Man was among them, & that the Man *tickled* her, & said *whish, whish* —

That on this She left the Bed & run & squeased herself in by the side of Miss Sally the House-keeper, but that by this time the whole Room was awake & alarmed—— That when the thing knew there was a discovery it stamped several times on the floor, shook the Bedstead by the side of which it lay, rattled the Door several Times & went down Stairs walking very heavy for one bare-foot—— That on its leaving the Room the House-keeper went to Ben Carters Chamber, & that he rose & they all went down & found the Doors & window as I have mentioned—— All this with many other material accidents is circulating through the family to Day; some conclude it was a Ghost because it would not speak—— But, more probably it was one of the warm-blooded, well fed young Negroes, trying for the company of buxom *Sukey*—— The Colonel however, at Breakfast gave out that if any one be caught in the House, after the family are at Rest, on any Pretence whatever, that Person he will cause to be hanged!—— This Afternoon *Nelson* the Lad who waits in our School, was in the woods about half a mile off, where he met with & kill'd a *Rattle-Snake* having six Rattles—— He cut off the head, & brought Home the remainder of the Body, which we have skin'd & stuff'd—— M^{rs} Carter complains to Day of the Tooth-Ach, & a slight Fever.

Teusday 6.

The day fine——It is whispered to Day that B—— is the Ghost that walk'd in the Nursery the other night, but I think the report is false, & arises from Calumny. We had an expectation of company to day, but are disappointed. We dined on Fish & Crabs, which were provided for our company, tomorrow being Fish-Day—— I begun a Sermon Job XXIII. 3. 4. We have two

vagrant Tinkers with us mending several articles, one of whom is this afternoon violent sick with Fever & Ague—I rode to my old spot, the Cornfield, by chance met with Mr. Taylor, I walked with him among the Tobacco Cotton &c. He gave me Directions for raising the latter—Cotton must be planted about the middle of May in rich Land, prepared with Hills, & made very mellow. When up it must be weeded & kept clean, it must be top'd & suckered as Tobacco, otherwise it runs too much to vine. Towards the Fall it will begin to open, when the opened pods must be gathered & laid by til dry, then the Cotton pick'd out & clean'd—

Wednesday 7.

M^{rs} Carter not very well; is troubled with a small Tooth-Ach Fever & a Cold—Every leisure minute I spend in writing at my Sermon—Dined with us M^r Sorrel, & M^r ——— on Fish, Rock, Perch, fine *Crabs*, & a large fresh *Mackerel*. Yesterday & to day I have been a little pained, & pretty much alarmed, at an unusual feeling in my right arm. But now it is a trembling steady *knawing* down the under part of my arm & Wrist, without unless when I move it suddenly—Evening I walked through the pasture to the River, the Hills are green, since the late rains, & look fine tip'd with the setting Sun.

Thursday 8.

Cloudy & cool. I rise now by half after six—I found it necessary to flogg *Bob* & *Harry* on account of lying in bed, after I come into School—At twelve M^r & M^{rs} Carter, with all the Family except *Ben*, *Harry* & Myself; *Ben* staid of choice, & *Harry* I kept at home

on account of a sullen Impudence when I dismiss'd them — I told them that they both had my leave to go but at the same time it was my advice that they should stay — Harry then answered “D—n my Soul but i'll go!” At this I informed him that he had at once dismiss'd himself from my authority, & without singular signs of Submission I should never take him under my direction more — And therefore that he had general & unbounded Liberty to go not only to the Horse Race, but *where & when* he chose — He seem'd startled, & began to moderate his answer: I ordered him out of the Room, & told him to use his liberty. M^{rs} Carter took with her all the young Ladies & all her children — *Ben* & I with great satisfaction dined alone. Nelson, to Day, kill'd another Rattle Snake; near the place where he kill'd the other, which had twelve Rattles — Harry grew sick and refused to go to the Race, he came soon to my room & with every Sign of Sorrow for his conduct begg'd me to forgive him, at first I refused, but at length I took him in, yet informed him that I shall pass over no other instance of what may be called rudeness only. — The Colonel on his return, in the evening informed us that the Race was curious, & that the Horses were almost an even match — That the Betts were Drawn & no Money paid — That the Rider of one of the Horses weighed only forty Seven pound — Strange that so little substance in a human Creature can have strength & skill sufficient to manage a Horse in a Match of Importance — Something alarming happened a few nights ago in the Neighbourhood at M^r *Sorrels* a House in Sight — It is supposed that his Negres had appointed to murder him, several were found in his bed chamber in the middle of the night — his Wife waked — She heard

a whispering, one perswading the other to go — On this She waked her Husband, who ran to his Gun; but they escaped in the dark — Presumption is so strong together with a small confession of the fellows, that three are now in Prison — The ill Treatment which this unhappy part of mankind receives here, would almost justify them in any desperate attempt for gaining that *Civility*, & *Plenty* which tho' denied them, is here, commonly bestowed on Horses! — Now, Laura, I sleep in fear too, though my Doors & Windows are all secured!

Fryday 9.

Mr Stadley came in before Breakfast. He inform'd us that Governor *Dunmore* has gone to the Frontiers¹ with about 400 Men to subdue the Indians — That the Indians seem disheartened, & leave their towns, & are unwilling to fight — Mrs *Carter*, out of Compliment, this morning presented to *Ben* & *I* for staying at home yesterday, a large fine *Cake* — Dined with us a Stranger — *Ben* with good Humour either out of a *Bravado* or for Revenge gave out in the Family to day that it is the opinion of a certain *Female*, of considerable Note in the family, that all the male Children which shall be born in this unlucky year, tho' they may be fair to the Sight, will be yet unable, from a Debility

¹In April, 1774, some extraordinary hostilities occurred between the Indians and whites on the Virginia frontier, in which the whites are said to have been the aggressors. Open hostilities resulted, and the confederated tribes, comprising Delawares, Wyandots, Shawnees, and others, under the celebrated chief, Cornstalk, were decisively beaten in the sanguinary battle of Point Pleasant by the Virginians, led by Gen. Andrew Lewis. It was a costly victory for the Colonists, however, as their loss in killed and wounded was two hundred, from a total force engaged of five hundred and fifty. (Campbell's *History of Virginia*, pp, 582-589.)

of Constitution, to do their Duty, with respect to Women, either married or single——That She has two reasons for this opinion,

1. Because the Air appears to be extremely *barren, weak, & ungenerative* ——

2. Because the Peaches, & other Fruit are observed this year to have in them very few *Kernels*, at the same time that the Peaches are sweet & fair ——

. I think that *Ben*, by this stratagem, whether it be real or otherwise, is levil with the invidious Vixen which suspected him of entering the Nursery to visit black-faced Sukey ——

Saturday 10.

With the Boys I Surveyed a small field lying along the Richmond Road; the Colonel has a good *Theodolite* & other Aparatus for Surveying —— English Magazines & Reviews arrived to Day —— One of the Books lately published I am desirous to purchase viz —— Dr *Henry's*¹ History of Great Britain on a new Plan. This history is to be contained in ten Books, each of which will be divided into seven chapters. In the first Chapter of every Book, the Author relates, the civil & military History of Great Britain —— The second chapter contains the ecclesiastical History of the same period: the third presents us with the history of our political constitution, Government, Laws, & Courts of justice; the fourth is employed upon what relates to Learning & Learned men: the fifth investigates the State of the useful & ornamental Arts: the sixth enquires into that of commerce, Shipping, Money, with the prices of commodities: & the last Chapter of every Volume is allotted

¹ Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar.* (Lond. 1771-93, 6 v., 4to.)

to a Detail of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Language, Dress, Diet, & Diversions of the Great Britains — Six o-Clock, M^{rs} *Turberville*, Miss *Jenny Corbin*, and Miss *Turberville* came in; Miss *Corbin* has been, all the Summer, at her Brothers¹ on Rapa-hanock forty miles distant. — I saw, in the evening, in M^r Randalls² Room, a Young man about twenty years old, totally deaf, & dumb! He is well-set, lusty, & likely; he is cheerful, good natur'd, extremely dextrous, quick of apprehension, &, in short, very conversable, & sociable by signs — he was taken to the much famed D^r *Graham*, when he was in this Colony trumpeting about his own unproved Abilities; he fumbled with the unfortunate Lad, by bleeding, gouging, boring &c. putting him to torture and expence without any possible expectation of help — He Sustains among his neighbours the Reputation of being, *honest*, *industrious*, & *useful* — He supports by Labour his mother, & himself; He is remarkably fond of Cloths, & vastly curious, & nice in examining every article of dress, where he has the smallest intimacy — He abstains entirely from strong Liquor — And what most of all produced admiration in me, was his taking a Pen & writing his Name "*Coley Reed*" in a good legible Hand, better indeed, than the Bulk of planters are able to do! But he can write nothing more —

Sunday 11.

Ben rode out yesterday after Dinner and returned this morning; but came on foot, I begin to suspect him of being actually engaged in what several allege against him — But I will keep off so long as I possibly can,

¹ Gawin Corbin of Yew Spring, Caroline County, See page 185, note 1.

² Doubtless *Randolph* is intended, Councillor Carter's clerk.

so unwelcome & so Base a thought of its Reality — After Breakfast Mr *Stadley* left us; I feel always Sorry when he leaves the Family; his entire *good-Nature, Cheerfulness, Simplicity, & Skill* in Music have fixed him firm in my esteem — None go to Ucomico Church to day — Towards evening, I took a book in my hand, & strolled down the Pasture quite to the Bank of the River — Miss *Stanhope, Priss, Nancy, Fanny, & Betsy Carter* were just passing by — They walked to the *Mill*; there they entered a Boat, and for exercise & amusement were rowed down the River quite to the granary, & then went to angling — I walked to them, & together we all marched Home to *Coffee*.

Monday 12.

We threatened having a Fire this morning — I wrote at my Sermon — From the Ship lying at *Leeds*, arrived this afternoon our new Coach — It is a plain carriage, upper part black, lower Sage or Pea-Green — The Harness is neat strong, & suitable for the Country — Price 120£ Sterling¹ — In the same Ship Mr^s *Carter* imports about 30£ value in plate in a pair of fashionable Goblets; Pair of beautiful Sauce-Cups; & a Pair of elegant Decanter-holders — *Ben* introduced into our Room a plain useful Book-Case, in which we class & place our Books in order. after School, I took a Book, and walked through the Pasture, strolling among Horses, Cows, & Sheep, grazing on the Hills & by the River.

Teusday 13.

We thought of Fire this morning, but put it off — Ben's mare is not yet heard of, though he has had

¹See Glenn's *Some Colonial Mansions*, V. I, 237.

a Boy almost constantly searching about for her——It is curious to see the Girls imitating what they see in the great House; sometimes tying a String to a Chair & then run buzzing back to imitate the Girls spinning; then getting Rags & washing them without water——Very often they are knitting with Straws, small round stockings, Garters &c——Sometimes they get sticks & splinter one end of them for *Brushes*, or as they call them here *Clamps*, & spitting on part of the floor, they scrubb away with great vigor——& often at a small game with Peach-stones which they call *checks*——Evening after School I rode to the much Frequented Corn-field, M^r Taylor was from Home the evening cloudy, cool, but fine, The Planters now begin to cut their Tobacco.

Wednesday 14.

M^r Carter received word to day that he has had brought very lately for his Mill 7000 Bushels of Wheat at 4^s.6^d pr. Bushel.——I am at a Loss to know where he will dispose of such vast Quantities!——The Colonel who is often pidling in some curious experiment, is to day making some Printers Ink——He tells me the Materials are Lintseed-Oil, Wheat-Bread, Onions, & Turpentine, a rank compound truely——then for Black, Lamp-Black, red, Vermillion——*Ben*, found his mare lost in last Saturday's Visit, poor Brute! She was confin'd in the Pasture where he left her, in which being very large She had been concealed——M^r Smith,¹ who was wounded last Spring by a Shot of his Brother is lately Dead, & it is said by the Wounds which he received from his Brother!——

¹See page 138, *et seq.*

Thursday 15.

Ben is much better; he has return'd to his Bed in my Room, but complains often of the pain in his Breast — I put him to begin & read some select odes in *Horace* — He works arithmetic but is only in Reduction — He dispises Greek, & therefore makes little or no progress in that Language — He is reading in course the *Eneid* Lib 3 — He has an unconquerable Love for Horses; he often tells me that he should have been a skillful, & useful Groom; that he should be more fond & careful of a favourite Horse than of a *Wife*, or than his *victuals*, or than any thing whatever! I never saw a Person, in any Diversion, Recreation or amusement, who seemed so full of Pleasure & enjoyment as he is when on Horse back, or even in the company of a Horse! He seems to possess as warm a regard for them as Dr *Swift* had for the Houyhnhnms — But I cannot discover that *Ben* has so cordial an enmity to Mankind as *Swift* had for the Yahoos. — *Bobs* passion for the same Animal is no less strong, but it is furious, & cruel, he rides excessive hard, & would ride always — *Harry's* Genius seems towards Cocks, & low Betts, much in company with the waiting Boys, & against my strongest Remonstrances, & frequent severe corrections, he will curse, at times, horribly, & swear fearfully! He always, however, omits it when I am Present. —

Fryday 16.

M^{rs} *Carter*, this morning, with *Prissy*, *Nancy*, & *Bob* went in the New-Coach to the *Dance* at Stratford, the morning is mild, fair & cool — The Colonel informed me that now his Mill-House, Bake Houses, Store Houses &c. with a clear unobstructed navigation is

completed, & that, he will rent them all to a Person properly qualified — or gladly employ a person who is capable, trusty & industrious enough to be the sole Director of so great & valuable Property — Dined with us captain *Walker* — He threw out several exceeding unpopular Sentiments with regard to the present amazing Disturbances through the Colonies — One in special I think proper to record because it fixes his Character, & declares him, in Spite of all pretence, an enemy to America — He asserted that no Officers (at Boston or elsewhere) are obliged, either by Law, or Right, to question or refuse any kind of orders which they receive from their Sovereign, or commanding Officer — But I account every man, who possesses & publishes such sentiments in this Crisis of the Fate of a vast Empire, as great an enemy to America at least, as Milton's *Arch-Devil* was to Mankind! — After School, we took the Theodolite, the Colonel along, & run several Lines, He seems perfectly well acquainted with the Art.

Saturday 17.

At eight I dismiss'd my small charge. Immediately after Breakfast I took some Boys, & went a Surveying; *Ben*, impatient of tiresome scurvy Home, strain'd off through the County — I run in to Dinner, the Colonel & I dined alone, we drank a Glass of Madeira, as a Health to absent Friends, after which I went again to the Field & survey'd till six in the evening; The Business of this Day has been to go round the inner Pasture About half an Hour after Sunset (when Women who love their Husbands & Families always come Home) Mrs Carter & the Girls arrived from Stratford She informed us that there was a large,

genteel, & agreeable Company at the Dance; that the Ague & Fever have been & continue troublesome in that Neighbourhood; & that word is arrived from Boston that Governor Gage has fired on the Town, & that it is expected his orders are to burn & beat it to Destruction! — *Ben* returned about seven from Westmoreland Courthouse — He informed us that M^r *Sorrels* Negroes had their trial there to Day, concerning their accusation of entering their Masters House in the night with an intention to murder Him — It was there proved (so far as Negroes evidence will go) that a Brother of this Sorrel early last Spring bribed some Negroes to Poison his Brother; & when that diabolical Attempt could not succeed, he has since tried to perswade them to murder Him! — But all evidence against the Negroes was so weak & dark that the judges ordered them to be whiped & dismissed them — Though the Law considers all Testimony given by a Negro against a White-Man as weak & unsubstantial; yet what the Negro said to Day on Oath of the younger M^r Sorrel, seems to gain much Belief with many who are candid & unbiased Judges; & with me beyond all Scruple, it fixes on him the cursed Character of *Fratricide*! —

Sunday 18.

The Colonel gave me, at Breakfast the offer of a Seat in his Boat to Church. The morning was fine, & Nomini-River alive with Boats Canoes &c some going to Church, some fishing, & some Sporting — M^r *Smith* gave us a very practical Sermon against the common vices here, in particular against the practise of abusing ing Slaves — The report concerning Boston is much talked off & still confirmed! — We dined all at M^r

Turberville's; Miss *Corbin* looks *fresh & plump* as ever. Towards evening arose a pretty furious Thunder-Gust, which we hardly escaped on our way home I observed that several, but in special M^r *Carter* is not pleased with M^r Smith's Sentiments of Slavery.

Monday 19.

The morning fine & cool, & produces in our School at last a fine Fire! — Fire looks & feels most welcome; and I observe it makes our children remarkably garrulous & noisy — I took cold by Saturdays unusual exercise, & to Day have a Pain through my head, sore throat, & the other common troubles in a Cold — This Day begins the examination of the Junior class at Nassau-Hall. Every time I reflect on that Place of retirement & Study, where I spent two years which I call the most pleasant as well as the most important Period in my past life — Always when I think upon the *Studies*, the *Discipline*, the *Companions*, the *Neighbourhood*, the *exercises*, & *Diversions*, it gives me a secret & real Pleasure, even the Foibles which often prevail there are pleasant on recollection; such as giving each other *names & characters*; Meeting & Shoving in the dark entries: knocking at Doors & going off without entering; Strowing the entries in the night with greasy Feathers; freezing the Bell; Ringing it at late Hours of the Night — I may add that it does not seem disagreeable to think over the Mischiefs often practised by wanton Boys — Such are writing witty pointed anonymous Papers, in *Songs*, *Confessions*, *Wills*, *Soliliques*, *Proclamations*, *Advertisements* &c — Picking from the neighbourhood now & then a plump fat Hen or Turkey for the private entertainment of the Club “instituted for inventing & practising several new kinds of

mischief in a secret polite Manner" — Parading bad Women — Burning Curse-John — Darting Sun-Beams upon the Town-People Reconnoitering Houses in the Town, & ogling Women with the Telescope — Making Squibs, & other frightful compositions with Gun-Powder, & lighting them in the Rooms of timorous Boys, & new *comers* — The various methods used in naturalizing strangers, of incivility in the Dining-Room to make them bold; writing them sharp & threatening Letters to make them smart; leading them at first with long Lessons to make them industrious — And trying them by Jeers & Repartee in order to make them choose their Companions &c &c — Evening after School with M^{rs} Carter, & the Girls I took a Walk thro' the Pumpkin & Potatoe Vines. the Air is clear, cold & healthful. We drank our Coffee at the great House very sociably, round a fine Fire, the House And air feels like winter again.

Teusday 20.

Among the many womanish Fribbles which our little Misses daily practise, I discovered one to Day no less merry than natural; *Fanny & Harriot* by stuffing rags & other Lumber under their Gowns just below their Apron-Strings, were prodigiously charmed at their resemblance to Pregnant Women! They blushed, however, pretty deeply on discovering that I saw them — We have to day both in the School & great-house steady Fires — M^r Thomas Edwards a reputable Planter in the Neighbourhood died this day about one o-Clock — I saw him last Sunday at Church when he was in good Health, was taken the same Evening, & hurried off at once! — Frail Man, how easily subdued! —

Wednesday 21.

We have a more particular account of the Death of Mr *Edwards*. About a twelve-month ago, he was suddenly siezed with a Fit of the Palsy, his Foot, Side, Arm, & part of his Face then failed, & became useless, after some time, however, he grew better, & has since been apparently well; til Sunday evening last after the Shower, as he was walking in his Garden, he fell down in an instant, there happened to be help at hand, he only said these emphatical words—“*Now I must die*”——He was carried in, & expired as I mentioned yesterday!——I am told that the Flux is in the upper part of this County——My cold continues; in the Evening on going to bed, I took a dose of Honey & Rum——

Thursday 22.

A pure cold northerly wind still blows, & we all keep Fires——Peaches & Fruit are omitted at Dinners, & Soup or Broth is brought in; Milk & Hominy at Breakfast too are laid by & Coffee & Sage Tea brought in; Our Suppers are Coffee & Bred & butter——*Neatness variety & Plenty* are reigning Characters in our worthy oconomist Mr^s Carter. I read to Day, & am charmed with a——of Lord Chesterfield. Letters to his natural Son, which I propose to purchase——After School, with Ben, I took a walk to Mr Turberville's——He has received a line from Colonel Lee at Philadelphia that the Congress is going on——That the account concerning Boston is false——Evening Lancelot Lee came in, & staid the night——He gave Ben & myself an Invitation to dine with him tomorrow, I took out of the Library & began to read Watts's Logic——

Fryday 23.

I spent some time in reviewing Geography & Logic — Mr Lee left us about twelve, & Ben rode out with him — Evening from Mr Turberville's I saw some *Barberry's*, *Sloe's*, & *Pomegranates*, neither of which I had seen before —

Saturday 24.

Together with my Cold I have to Day a most disagreeable gathering on my middle Finger — I keep myself at home reading Logic — Evening the Colonel invited me to walk with him; he took me to his Mill, *Coopers*, *House*, *Channel*, *Meadows* &c. and was vastly particular in describing to me their particular uses — I begin to look with eager Sollicitude to the time of my revisiting my friends & Relations — It is, happily near —

Sunday 25.

The morning clear cool & very dry — I rode to Ucomico-Church. I was surprised when the Psalm begun, to hear a large Collection of voices singing at the same time, from a Gallery, entirely contrary to what I have seen before in the Colony, for it is seldom in the fullest Congregation's, that more sing than the Clerk, & about two others! — I am told that a singing Master of good abilities has been among this society lately & put them on the respectable Method which they, at present pursue — I dined at Mr *Fishers*, among others, I saw there, Dr *Steptoe* & Mr *Hamilton* who have lately been to Philadelphia — They give various reports concerning political affairs, & as to the Congress nothing certain, so that I say nothing on that Score — Their Remarks on the City & Inhabitants;

The Country &c are curious—— They allow the City to be fine, neat & large; they complain a little of the small Rooms, Uniformity of the Buildings, & several other like faults—— They call the Inhabitants grave & & reserved; & the Women remarkably homely, hard favour'd & sour!—— One Colonel Harrison¹ from a lower County in this Colony, offer'd to give a Guinea for every handsome Face that could be found in the City, if any one would put a Copper on every Face that did not come up to that Character!—— This is an impeachment of the Ladies which I have never heard before, I do not give my opinion either for or against it—— The face of the Country, & the method of farming that way delights them: but at this I dont wonder.

Monday 26.

Yesterday the Inspector, whom I have named & described before, desired the Parson to wait on them in his family and christen his Child—— Is the child sick? No Sir—— Why then to day? it is the Mothers Desire Sir—— Why was it not brought to Church? The Mother is unwell, Sir—— The Parson excused himself, & promised to come some Days hence, but the long winded officer, innured to Stubbornness, hung on, & without moderation or Apology *demand*ed his presence!—— And prevail'd—— Something in our palace this Evening, very merry happened—— M^{rs} Carter made a dish of Tea.² At Coffee, she sent me a dish—— & the

¹ Doubtless Col. Benjamin Harrison of Berkely, the Signer.

² “It is further our opinion, that as *tea* on its importation to America is charged with a duty, imposed by parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue without the consent of the people, it ought not to be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and liberty of British America . . .” (Extract from a paper adopted by the members of the Virginia Assembly, upon their being dissolved by Governor Dunmore, May 26, 1774.)

Colonel both ignorant — He smelt, sipt — look'd — At last with great gravity he asks what's this? — Do you ask Sir — Poh! — And out he throws it splash a sacrifice to Vulcan —

Tuesday 27.

This morning the Colonel with his Theodolite observed the Centre of the Sun at his rising, & found it bore East 5° South — This he is doing to fix a true East & West Line for regulating the Needle at any time. This Bearing he corrected by finding the Sun's Declination, & fixed his Points — After the morning we let our fire go down — Both yesterday, & this evening I rode out to exercise myself & horse against our approaching Journey — M^r *Hodge*, a Merchant of *Leeds* & M^r *Leech* a Merchant of *Dumfries* came Home with the Colonel from *Westmoreland Court* — Both chatty, in special M^r *Leech*; both well-bred, sensible & sociable — The loyal toast was *Wisdom & unity* to the Conferences now assembled — And when Women were to be toasted, I gave Miss *Jenny Washington*. —

Wednesday 28.

The weather remarkably dry, since Sunday night, we have not had a drop of Rain, not even a cloudy Sky, & till yesterday, & steady, cold, serene northerly Wind — To day is the annual Commencement at *Nassau Hall* —

Thursday 29.

Warm to day, but dry & clear. M^r *Leech* & M^r *Hodge* spent last evening with us; the Conversation was on exchange — Loyal Toasts, *Agreement*, & *Firm-*

through the american Colonies — Ladies, mine
Miss Corbin — The Colonel informed us that
next week he shall set out for Williamsburg —
after I hope to set out for Cohansie!

30.

Farm, but clear & Dry — Dined with us Mr
he gave us a large account of affairs at the Con-
of the City, Country, Manners, Persons, Trade
— But he swears the Women are coarse & hardy
evening I informed the Colonel that it is hardly
ble I shall continue in his family til his return
the general Court, & at the same time, desired
to give me a discharge, so that I expect to have all
adjusted before he leaves Home — We have
entered on the Winter plan, have Coffee just at
g & Supper between eight and nine o-Clock —
wonderful to consider the Consumption of provis-
in this family — I have before spoken of Meat, &
eady Rate of flour weekly, for the great House is
o of which 50 is the finest, & 50 the Seconds —
all the Negroes, & most of the Labourers eat

RDAY October 1st 1774.

Wind South West cloudy. After Breakfast with
boys I went a Surveying along the River round
wer pasture at twelve, *Ben, Bob, Harry* all gallop
— I spent the afternoon plotting my work — I
am our Barber for *Blacking, Dressing* &c 12/.

y 2.

arson Smith is out of the Parish so that we have
ervice — With *Ben* I rode to Mr *Washingtons*.

M^r *Lowe* again absent—— Dined with us M^{rs} *Turberville*, Miss *Corbin*, Miss *Pierce*—— we found the Colonel in the evening busy with his Instrument of Music—— We drank our Coffee & retired early to our Room, & read til ten, then thanking our bountiful Preserver we retired to our bed.——

Monday 3.

I gave Tom the Hostler, for his care of my Horse 3/—— After Breakfast the Colonel settled & paid me for my Years Service 40£ Sterling—— This is better than the scurvy annuity commonly allowed to the Presbyterian Clergy—— He is very Busy in adjusting his affairs, he set out however, by twelve for Williamsburg, after taking final leave of me—— *Ben* accompanies him to Richmond Court—— Afternoon Miss *Corbin* & Miss *Turberville* came in to stay a while with M^{rs} *Carter*.

Bob went yesterday to M^r *Lanes* there was Parson *Gibbern*¹ ill of his last weeks Bout; he was up three nights successively drinking & playing at Cards, so that the liquor & want of sleep put him quite out of his Sences—— A rare tale this to relate of a Man of God! To use the language of the vulgar, “Old Satan will sadly belabour such overgrown Sinners”!

Teusday 4.

Dined with us M^{rs} *Turberville* & Miss *Letty* we were all Tete a Tete, vastly merry & garrulous—— I gave Nelson for a Stirrup Buckle a Bit—— I am preparing my Saddle, Cloth's, Bags, Horse, & myself for the intended Ride——

¹ See page 50, note 1.

Wednesday 5.

Dined with us M^r Taylor, He informs us that the crops of Tobacco are like to be good — Evening I wrote a letter to M^{rs} Thornton, Northumberland, concerning M^r Leek's coming into her Family as a Tutor — I had a fine walk with the young Ladies through the Pasture — They make me proud by expressing much concern at my necessary Departure, throwing out many Wishes that I would continue with them —

Thursday 6.

I paid Natt who drives the Team half a Bit as a Forfeit for taking hold of his plough — And to Harry 18/^d for a stirrup-leather & sundry other Articles — The School presented me with a petition formally drawn up for a holiday to day on account of the race at M^r Turberville's, which I granted — *Priscilla, Nancy, Ben, & Bob* go Harry & I, making in my opinion the wisest choice both stay.

Fryday 7.

Nancy, & Bob go to the Dance at Schantille¹ — M^{rs} Carter after Breakfast took *Prissy, Fanny & Harriot*, and made M^{rs} Washington a Visit, *Ben, Harry, Betsy* & I are left at Home alone. I spent to Day in writing off M^r Peck's Letter — Evening I am troubled with a drunken Carpenter; he saw a Light in my Chamber — up he bouzes, with a Bottle of Rum in his hand; Who keeps Home? — I asked him in — Have you any water Sir? — Not any I told him — Not a drop, Sir? — No — My flute was lying on the Table, he took it for a Trumpet & tooted in it for two or three

¹ Chantilly, the home of Richard Henry Lee.

Minutes Then again he begs, O Sir call in a Servant & have me some Water —— But I left the Room glad to be free of his foolish Impertinence. At Supper M^{rs} Carter informed us that Captain *Walker's* little Son has the putrid Quinsey, but we hope it is only a bad sore Throat by a Cold —— I have a complaint of a painful Jaw, for these several Days

Saturday 8.

Expence to the Smith for mending my Stirrup a Pisterene 1/3 —— Ben this morning Wrote a letter to his Papa —— I finished off mine for M^{rs} Peck —— The Pain in my face is a good deal troublesome. Dined with us Colonel Frank Lee & his Lady, M^r Turberville M^{rs} Turberville & Miss Letty.

Sunday 9.

Ben & Harry ride to Ucomico Church I at home spend the day in my Room, I walked out towards evening & saw a number of Negroes very busy at framing together a small House —— Sundays they commonly spend in fishing making Potatoes &c, building & patching their Quarters or rather Cabins ——

Monday 10.

The General Court at Williamsburg begins to sit this Day —— We have no intelligence of the carryings on of the Congress; our Papers this Summer came vastly seldom, it is said that the Post Men are bribed & give away the News Papers. I expect that M^r Peck is about setting out from Home for this place —— I wish him a speedy & successful passage, for I am now impatient of Delay til I visit again my acquaintance & Home —— The Day is cold, the wind at North, & the ground extremely dry ——

Tuesday 11.

Mr. *Stadley* came this morning. He brings no news of the Congress, but much of the great Race lately at Fredricksburg — Every Evening for the Benefit of exercise I ride out, and commonly carry with me one of the small Girls, who partaking of the prevailing Spirit, are passionately fond of Riding —

Wednesday 12.

I was told often before I left Home that coming into Virginia would bring me into the midst of many dangerous Temptations; Gay Company, frequent entertainments, little practical devotion, no remote pretention to Heart religion, daily examples in Men of the highest quality, of Luxury, intemperance, & impiety; these were urged, by my kind acquaintances, as very strong dissuasions against my leaving home; the admonitions I accepted with great Thankfulness, tho' I could not allow them to turn me off from my purpose & I resolved with as much sincerity & Firmness as I could to carry them with me in every part of my behaviour. The close of the time of my Stay here is I expect now near at hand: And if I may judge myself of the carrying my resolutions into practice, I should pronounce that I have not been wanting in my duty in this respect. Some few who frequently ask me to go from home, say I am dull, unsociable, & splenetic: But the Gentlemen generally here have a good & reasonable manner of judging in this case they are well pleased with strict & rigid virtue, in those who have the management of their children, if it does not grow to factious enthusiasm; so that Levity, tho perhaps they would wink at it lessens, & in a while would take away the Reputation & business of a Family Tutor — Of this I was

fully convinced in a short time after my coming into the Colony, & saw too the very great advantage of the Precaution which I received of my friends, for they assisted me in setting out in a safe, and prudent Plan, which has, I hope directed me to propriety of conduct with regard to my private character, & likewise to my little lovely Charge,

Thursday 13.

Good M^r Stadley left us this morning. I took leave with great reluctance of this worthy Man, & do not expect to see him more! — After Breakfast M^{rs} Carter with the young Ladies, rode to Colonel Tayloe's. My Jaw continues growling & keeps me uneasy, I very much fear some hurtful humours are collecting themselves there together——To day at twelve o-Clock *Bob* providentially escaped with his life——He went up into a tall Chesnut tree to cut down Boughs & gather Chesnuts & foolishly he began to cut the Limb on which he was standing, at a little distance from his feet——Chesnut splits extremely easy, so that when the Limb was about half cut off it split down; this so weakened the part on which *Bob* stood that his weight instantly split it too, & down he must have tumbled upwards of thirty feet but he happily caught a bough on his way down.——

Fryday 14.

The Disorder in my face continues, slow, uniform, & Steady; it does not hinder me from rest by night, or from any exercise or business by day; But It keeps me in continual doubt, & anxiety, whether it be not something gathering which will be peculiarly distressful——But my temper, I fear, in these respects is very phlegmatic; I find it displeasing to myself, & it would

be certainly unpleasant to anyone who was interested in my complaints—— I am of so strange a constitution that very trifles make me utterly unhappy —— A mere conceit, frivolous & unsubstantial often takes away my rest—— This feeling I have possest from my infancy, I remember very well that a Cuff on my Ear would make me sullen for Several days when I was too young to go out to school; Afterwards a disappointment of an hours play would make me disrelish for a long time both play-fellows and all Diversion! When I was at the College one Blunder at recitation, or in any performance of my duty would make me dull, low-Spirited, & peevish; In fact any disappointment, even the most inconsiderable seems to have a general Effect on my Passions & mingle fear, & anger, & rage, together with many others which are excited by different & disagreeable modifications of our Bodies, &, tho' I am conscious of this frailty in myself, I have not yet brought myself under so good subjection, as to make these humours give way intirely to Philosophy or Religion—— It is, however, my constant study how I may accomplish this much wish'd for habit—— While we were dining there is a large shower of rain but by no means plentiful, for the earth is uncommonly dry —— M^{rs} Carter to day asked me if M^r Peck is to be here before my setting out; I answered that he is —— And says she, is he grave as you? ——

Saturday 15.

I rode after Breakfast to D^r Thompsons with a settled purpose of having my troublesome tooth drawn out but on examination he found it to be too far back, & too short to be extracted —— More sorry I. —— Dined with us besides the family, M^r Munro, young M^r.

Washington, and Master Christien—— Here is a fine Prospect from an exceeding high eminence, of the Potowmack; River Nominy; our House, which is six miles distant; Lee-Hall, Bush-field; all remote.—— Evening I rode Home, the country pleasant Bought several articles as presents for the young Ladies, a neat gilt paper Snuff Box for Miss Priscilla, a neat best clear Hair-Comb a piece for Miss Nancy & Fanny—— A broad elegant Sash apiece for Miss Betsy & Harriot Value of all 15/. Soon after my return, when I was in the Chamber adjusting my articles Ben came bawling at my window Mr Peck's come, Mr Peck's come. I step'd to the window, & saw presently that what he said was fact, my Heart bounc'd & I with it bolted down to meet him. But he comes empty of a letter, & barren of news, at least all he brings seems gloomy; none at all of the great Congress; very little of the present momentious political affairs; that it has been at Cohansie an unhealthy season; that good & useful Mr Hunter has been ill of a disorder in his head; that Mr^s Reve is gone & left a Brood of infants! that young *Tom Jennifer* of Port-Tobacco, my acquaintance at College too is dead! that matters go in their usual course at Cohansie & Princeton; that *Laura* is not in new Jersey! All his intelligence is similar to this, which is to me harsh & unharmonious as a Ravens ominous Croak! To Day Harry boil'd up a Compound of Poke-Berries, Vinegar, Sugar &c to make a red Ink or Liquid—— I spent the evening til two in the morning in conversation.

Sunday 16.

A fine morning—— We rose by Seven but we were informed that there is no Sermon so that out of

compliment to M^r Peck's weariness we kept close at home rather than ride to Richmond. We spent the Day in our chamber til towards evening when with the young Ladies we took a turn down the River Many we saw fishing — M^{rs} Carter with *Priss* rode to Captain Turberville's — We all returne'd and assembled by evening at the great House.

Monday 17.

Before Breakfast I heard all the School a lesson round M^r Peck present — After Breakfast I heard their Tables, Grammer, &c & then in 'Spite of my resolution with great reluctance, I resigned up to M^r Peck my little much loved Charge! — The pain in my Face is quite gone — To day I saw a Phenomenon, M^{rs} Carter without Stays! — She complains of a pain in her breast, that prevents her wearing them, and says that She is always supposing the worst, & fears that it is a Cancer breeding there — I hope it may be only fear — I am more & more every day pleased with the manner, Temper, Oconomy, & whole management of this good Lady — Now I am to take my final Leave! — Towards evening we all went down on the River & had a pleasant exercise —

Teusday 18.

Early to Day I wrote a Note to M^r Lowe and Harry Fantleroy to dine with us to day, & soon received their promise — After Dinner with M^r Lowe on the violin, I play'd over many tunes on the Flute, he plays with good Taste and accuracy — At five we all walk'd over to M^r Turberville's — I gave to our Wash-Woman some old Linen & as a Box 2/4 — We spent the evening in Music Chat & pleasantry — But

this sad thing which I hear of that turn-Coat *Laura*, that She loves & courts one Mr. *Rodman* this distresses me exceedingly But this relieves me, for I have had it always in my View that——Varium & mutabile semper Fœmina——Tho I have made a Solemn vow which I have no inclination at all to forego, yet if it shall appear that she has listened to another, my dearest vow is not inviolable; I will retreat from every former Promise, I will not hearken to womanish solicitations, but I shall in return for her want of goodness treat her with contempt; & sincerely pity, instead of resent, her ineffectual Caprice——

Wednesday 19.

Mr. Lowe & Fantleroy left us early But I agreed to stay till tomorrow——I gave to Nelson on going away 2/2——To Miss Sally the House-Keeper 5/.——

Thursday 20.

I rose by three, & left Home by half after four——Gave Nelson & Dennis half a bit a piece——rode thence to Westmoreland Court House ten Miles by half after six——Fed my Horse & drank some Brandy——Expence a Bit——Rode thence to Mattox Bridge 18 miles——Fed here three quarts of Bran & Corn for a Bit——The Bloody-Flux is now extremely bad in this Neighbourhood——I am told that scarce a Family is clear of it, & of every family some die!——Rode thence to *Tylers* Ferry 8 miles the road extremely dry & dusty——At two I set off for Maryland, the wind fresh at South East arrived at Mr^s Laidlers by five Ferriage 7/6 I gave the Ferry-men a Bottle of Rum——Here I dined on fryed Chicken, Ham, with good Porter——Accommodations good——In bed by half after Seven——

Fryday 21.

Directly over my Room, was a sick Woman that kept a dismal groaning all night — My window-Shutters Clapt the Potowmack howl'd, yet I slept — My Bill at M^{rs} Laidlers — A Bottle of Porter 2/. Dinner 1/3 Bed ./.6^d — Stable & Foder 1/. — A smart looking Girl at M^{rs} Laidlers made me smile — She was complaining to me of the unhealthy Climate, that these three months past she has had a constant Ague & Fever, & been in the Country only six months — Pray Miss said I did you come from Britain? — No Sir, I came from London — Rode thence to Port-Tobacco — It has been extremely sickly here this Fall — Bill to Barber 1^s/8 — Breakfast 1/. — Hay & Oats 1/3 — M^{rs} Halkinson my Land Lady, a poor aged, distress'd Widow, when she found that I was acquainted with her little son at Princeton, seemed a little to revive; she beg'd me to encourage her Son to be diligent & industrious, to caution & admonish him from her against bad company and wicked practices — She told me of her great & sore loss of an only Daughter, a young woman of 15 this Summer, since which, she told me in tears, that She has been a stranger to health & Quiet — O relentless Death! How universal & severe are thy Commissions! From M^{rs} Laidlers to Port Tobacco is called 13 miles — I rode thence thro' a fog of Dust to Piscatua, 14 miles — The Landlady here is very ill — That dismal disorder the bloody-Flux, has been extremely bad at Port Tobacco, & in the Neighbourhood of this town, but is subsided — Expencc here half a Gill of Brandy ./.3^d — Oats & Fodder ./.6^d — Left this Village half after four, and rode to upper-Marlborough, almost blinded with sweat & dust! — Arrived by seven, a little tired

this Evening — Distance 16 Miles — Whole distance yesterday including the Ferry 8 Miles 44 miles — Whole Expence 8/7 — That epidemical distemper above mentioned has been likewise raging in the Neighbourhood of this Town — Bill at Marlborough To Tea 1/3 — To lodging ./.8 — To Oats 1/1 — To stabling 1/. —

Saturday 22.

Rode thence to Patuxen Ferry 4 mile Ferriage ./.6^d — Thence to South River 12 miles, Ferriage .6/4 — To Boy ./.4^d — Thence to Annapolis 4 miles — Bill here to Dinner & Club 4/6 — To Hay & Oats 1/3 — To two Silver watch Seals 15/6 To half Gallon Rum for Ferryman 2/6 — To Hay for Horse /8 — To Barber 1/ — Left Annapolis at 6 no wind returned about 8 to the Coffee-House To Ferriage across the Bay 17/6 —

Sunday 23.

Teusday evening last the people of this Town & of Baltimore obliged one Anthony Stewart a Merchant here to set fire to a Brig¹ of his lately from London in which was 17 Chests of Tea — The People seem indeed to be full of patriotic Fire — Second bill at Annapolis Supper 1/6 — Lodging ./.9 Hay 1/3 — 2 Gallons Oats 1/6 — Articles for the Voyage 4/ — Landed about 5 at Kent-Island, road thence to a small Ferry for Oats & Ferriage 1/. — thence we rode to Queens Town 15 miles — Bill there 5/2½

Monday 24.

Rode from Queens Town over a low level Country

¹The "Peggy Stewart." This was the last attempt at tea importation into the Anglo-American colonies.

7 miles to a small Tavern — Breakfasted 1/7 rode thence by a small Town call'd Churchill — thence to the Head of Chester River 22 miles — here I dined my Company gone to the Chester Races which happen to morrow — Expence 2/4 Rode thence to Warwick 12 miles My Horses feet swell this Evening.

Teusday 25.

Bill at Warwick — supper 1/3 — Oats . /8 — Stable Hay & Lodging 2/. — Glass of Wine Bitters . /4 — Rode thence to Port Penn 15 miles expence there 1/7 — Ferriage 5/. — Arrived once more by Gods Kindness in New Jersey among my friends & relations I found many of my Acquaintances have gone off the Stage Uncle *Seeley*; *Damon James*; Mrs. *Reeve*; *James Boyd*; & several others — And many are Sick — Our Family through divine Goodness are in Health¹ —

¹ Philip Fithian was licensed by the Presbytery December 6th, 1774. For his subsequent life, see introduction.

LETTERS FROM VIRGINIA

1773—1774

LETTERS FROM VIRGINIA

[TO THE REV. ENOCH GREEN.¹]

WESTMORELAND, NOV^r 2^d 1773.

REV'D SIR.

According as I appointed I take this early opportunity of acquainting you that I am arrived safe; and I am to assure you that I find the place fully equal to my highest expectations—I am situated in the *Northern Neck*, in a most delightful Country; in a civil, polite neighbourhood; and in a family remarkable for regularity, and oeconomy, tho' confessedly of the highest quality and greatest worth of any in *Virginia*. I teach only M^r Carters children, and only one of them is to learn Languages, and he is reading Salust and the Greek grammer, is seventeen years old, and seems to be a Boy of Genius—the other two learn writing and Arithmetic—but he has four Daughters, young Misses that are at times to be taught writing and English—I have the terms as I expected, and find the place wholly agreeable—and am strongly solicited to stay many years—but money nor conveniency shall detain me long from my most important connections at home—you may expect me in may at the *Synod*. Please to have my compliments to M^{rs} Green, to Miss Betsy² if at Deerfield, and to my acquaintances that shall enquire and accept to yourself the

Respect of your humble serv^t

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

¹ Rev. Enoch Green of Deerfield, N. J. See page 55, note 3.

² Elizabeth Beatty was at that time living with her sister, Mrs. Enoch Green, at Deerfield.

[TO THE REV. ENOCH GREEN.]

Decem^r 1st 1773.

REV'D SIR.

As you desired I may not omit to inform you; so far as I can by a letter, of the business in which I am now engaged, it would indeed be vastly agreeable to me if it was in my power to give you particular intelligence concerning the state and plan of my employment here.

I set out from home the 20th of Oct^r and arrived at the Hon: Robert Carters, of Nominy, in Westmorland County, the 28th I began to teach his children the first of November. He has two sons, and one Nephew; the oldest Son is turned of seventeen, and is reading Salust and the greek grammer; the others are about fourteen, and in english grammer, and Arithmetic. He has besides five daughters which I am to teach english, the eldest is turned of fifteen, and is reading the spectator; she is employed two days in every week in learning to play the Forte-Piana, and Harpsichord — The others are smaller, and learning to read and spell. M^r Carter is one of the Councillors in the general court at Williamsburg, and posesst of as great, perhaps the clearest fortune according to the estimation of people here, of any man in Virginia. He seems to be a good scholar, even in classical learning, and is remarkable one in english grammar; and notwithstanding his rank, which in general seems to countenance indulgence to children, both himself and M^{rs} Carter have a manner of instructing and dealing with children far superior, I may say it with confidence, to any I have ever seen, in any place, or in any family. They keep them in perfect subjection to themselves,

and never pass over an occasion of reproof; and I blush for many of my acquaintances when I say that the children are more kind and complaisant to the servants who constantly attend them than we are to our superiors in age and condition. Mr Carter has an overgrown library of Books of which he allows me the free use. It consists of a general collection of law books, all the Latin and Greek Classicks, vast number of books on Divinity chiefly by writers who are of the established Religion; he has the works of almost all the late famous writers, as Locke, Addison, Young, Pope, Swift, Dryden, &c. in Short, Sir, to speak moderately, he has more than eight times your number — His eldest Son,¹ who seems to be a Boy of genius and application is to be sent to Cambridge University, but I believe will go through a course either in Philadelphia or Princeton College first. As to what is commonly said concerning Virginia that it is difficult to avoid being corrupted with the manners of the people, I believe it is founded wholly in a mistaken notion that persons must, when here frequent all promiscuous assemblies; but this is so far from truth that any one who does practise it, tho' he is accused of no crime, loses at once his character; so that either the manners have been lately changed, or the report is false, for he seems now to be best esteemed and most applauded who attends to his business, whatever it be, with the greatest diligence. I believe the virginians have of late altered their manner very much, for they begin to find that their estates by even small extravagance, decline, and grow involved with debt, this seems

¹ Ben Carter did not take a course at Princeton; he is said to have died in youth, probably before entering any college, as it is shown by letters of Fithian that he was in very delicate health in 1775.

to be the spring which induces the People of fortune who are pattern of all behaviour here, to be frugal, and moderate. You may expect me at home by the permission of Providence the latter end of april next, or the beginning of may; and as I proposed I shall present my exercises for the examination of the Presbytery; and if they think proper I shall gladly accept of a license in the fall: I must beg your favour to mention me to such of my acquaintances in Deerfield as you think proper, but especially to M^{rs} Green, Miss *Betsy*, your family, and M^{rs} Pecks — I must also beg you to transmit so much of this intelligence to M^r Hunter as that my relations in Greenwich may know that I am through the mercy of heaven in good health. I beg, Sir, you will not fail to write, and let it be known to M^r Hunter, that a Letter will come as secure by the Post as from Cohansie to Philadelphia; the Letters are to be directed to me thus, To M^r Philip V. Fithian at M^r *Carters* of Nominy, to be left at Hobes Hole.

I am, Sir, yours

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

[TO THE REV. ANDREW HUNTER.¹]

NOMINI HALL, Virginia, June 3^d 1774.

REV^d & DEAR SIR.

It will not be wonderful if I inform you that this Colony is in great tumult and confusion. The general Voice is *Boston*. you will have heard before the reception of this, that the Governor dissolved the Assembly in this province on their resolve to keep the first day of June on which the Act of Parliament² is to take

¹ Rev. Andrew Hunter, Sr., of Greenwich, N. J. See page 21, note 1.

² Known as the Boston Port Bill. To this dissolution of the Virginia Assembly, and the subsequent action of its members in issuing the first call for

place at Boston (excepting the days of grace) a solemn fast. The people agree however in general to unite with the people of Boston and the other northern trading Cities, and by their example to influence all the Colonies, not to make any resistance to the Britains, but to keep themselves independent, and refuse to receive their comodities, and keep within themselves, their own more valuable comodities, because they are for the support of life——So stedfast are the people here that the Captain of a Ship belonging to an eminent house in London was yesterday refused any more Tobacco til' there is intelligence from the Northward.¹

The frost which happened the 4th of May, was by far more severe and fatal here than either in Maryland, New-Jersey, or Pennsylvania——The expected produce of Gardens and Peaches, (which were some planters chief dependence) are not only almost wholly destroy'd, but in y^e upper parts of the province Wheat and Rye are so much cut off that the owners think it best to mow it down for fodder! ——

I have the pleasure to inform you that I had a speedy and pleasant ride; found the family in good health; that it is a time of general health in the County——and that I am again agreeably settled to business.

the annual convening of a federal congress, is due much of the perfection of government and the unity of purpose exhibited by the Colonies in the defense of their rights. The Virginia Assembly, also, was the first to recommend the appointment of intercolonial committees of correspondence.

¹ The plan of forcing a redress of grievances by commercial non-intercourse was generally suggested. The Boston Committee, writing to the counties and towns of Massachusetts, said: "It is the last and only method of preserving the land from slavery, without drenching it in blood." The Virginia Convention, which met at Williamsburg, August 1-6, 1774, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Continental Congress, agreed, that unless American grievances were redressed before August 10, 1775, they would not, after that date, export tobacco or any other article whatever to Great Britain. (Henry's *Patrick Henry, Life, Correspondence and Speeches*, V. I, 185, *et seq.*).

Please to make my compliments to M^{rs} Hunter, Miss Nancy, Andrew, and to Uncles family—I am, Sir. Your most obedient

Most humble serv^t

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

[To JOHN PECK.]

NOMINI HALL June 3^d 1774.
Virginia.

SIR.

I have the pleasure to inform you I arriv'd safe and had a pleasant ride; I expect to hear from you by every post but have received no letter yet—If you did not receive my letter dated “Delaware-River, on board the Swallow,” this is to request you to apply immediately to D^r Witherspoon who promised me in Philadelphia that he would recommend you here; the reason of my demanding dispatch is, that M^r Carter proposes to write to England for a Tutor if he cannot be speedily satisfied of having one from the Northward—If I attempt to write news I must inform you that the Assembly of this province is dissolved on passing a resolve to keep the first day of June through the whole province a solemn fast, the resolve past however, and the day was kept—The frost of the 4th of May was much more fatal here than to the Northward, for not only Garden produce, but Wheat and Rye in the upper parts of the province are blasted and the owners mow them down for fodder; and here the Woods look like winter!—I expect to hear from you several times this summer, I beg you will not disappoint me.

My compliments to acquaintances—

From, Sir, yours

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

TO M^R. GEORGE LEE.¹July 30th 1774.

SIR.

With my compliments I am to inform you that *Ben: Carter* is, of necessity, to go this day into *Richmond*; and as my company alone will not be equal to the trouble you must be at I give you this timely notice that you may avoid it,

I am,

with many thanks for your

Invitation, Sir,

Your most humble serv^t

P. V. FITHIAN.

[TO JOHN PECK.²]NOMINI HALL August 12th 1774.

“ Si bene moneo, attende.”——

SIR.

I never reflect, but with secret, and peculiar pleasure, on the time when I studied in *Deerfield* with you, & several other pleasant Companions, under our common, & much respected instructor, M^r. *Green*. And I acknowledge now, with a thankful heart, the many favours, which I received from your family while I was a member of it. This sense of obligation to your

¹ George Lee of Mt. Pleasant. The curt tone of this note may be explained by the fact that it was probably this George Lee who was guilty of a rudeness to Fithian at the ball given by Squire Lee, January 18, 1774. See page 96.

² This lengthy but interesting letter to John Peck, who was about to succeed Fithian as tutor at Nomini Hall, was intended to serve as an introduction to some of the peculiarities of the position and as a guide for his future course of conduct. It shows Fithian to have been a close observer as well as a deep student of human nature.

Family, And personal friendship for you, have excited me, when it was in my power, to introduce you to the business which I now occupy; into a family, where, if you be prudent and industrious, I am confident you will speedily acquire to yourself both Honour & Profit — But inasmuch as you are wholly a stranger to this Province; & have had little or no experience in the business which you are shortly to enter upon; & lest, from common Fame, which is often erroneous, you shall have entertained other notions of the manners of the People here, & of your business as a Tutor, than you will find, when you come, to be actually true; I hope you will not think it *vain* or *untimely*, if I venture to lay before you some Rules for your direction which I have collected from a year's observation. I shall class what I have to say in the following order. First. I shall attempt to give you some direction for the plan of your Conduct among your neighbours, & the People in General here, so long as you sustain the character of a Tutor. Then I shall advise you concerning the rules which I think will be most profitable & convenient in the management of your little lovely charge, the School. Last of all. I shall mention several Rules for your personal conduct. I choose to proceed in the order I have laid down, as well that you may more fully & speedily receive my mind, as that you may also the more readily select out and apply what you shall find to be most necessary.

FIRST. When you have thought of removing, for a Time, out of the Colony in which you was born, & in which you have hitherto constantly resided, I make no doubt but you have at the same time expected to find a very considerable alteration of manners, among your new acquaintances, & some peculiarities *toto Cœlo*

different, from any you have before been accustomed to. Such a thought is natural; And you will if you come into Virginia, in much shorter time than a year, be convinced that it is just. In New-Jersey Government throughout, but especially in the Counties where you have any personal acquaintance, Gentlemen in the first rank of Dignity & Quality, of the Council, general Assembly, inferior Magistrates, Clergy-men, or independent Gentlemen, without the smallest fear of bringing any manner of reproach either on their office, or their high-born, long recorded Families associate freely & commonly with Farmers & Mechanicks tho' they be poor & industrious. Ingenuity & industry are the Strongest, & most approved recommendations to a Man in that Colony. The manners of the People seem to me, (probably I am overborn by the force of prejudice in favour of my native Soil), to bear some considerable resemblance of the manners in the ancient Spartan Common-Wealth——The Valour of its Inhabitants——was the best, & only security of that State against the enemy; & the wise laws of its renowned Legislator were the powerful Cement which kept them firm & invincible——In our Government, the laborious part of Men, who are commonly ranked in the midling or lower Class, are accounted the strength & Honour of the Colony; & the encouragement they receive from Gentlemen in the highest stations is the spring of Industry, next to their private advantage. The Levil which is admired in New-Jersey Government, among People of every rank, arises, no doubt, from the very great division of the lands in that Province, & consequently from the near approach to an equality of Wealth among the Inhabitants, since it is not famous for trade. You know very well that the Lands in a

small township are divided, & then again subdivided into two & three Hundred Separate, proper, creditable estates; for example *Deerfield* & *Fairfield* two Townships, or Precincts, in which you & I are tolerably well acquainted, in the former of which, are the Seats of two Judges of the Sessions; & in the latter resides one of the representatives in General Assembly for the County; But if 16000£ would purchase the whole landed estates of these three Gentlemen, who are supposed to be the most wealthy in the County, if we rate their Land at the Low Consideration of 4£ p^r acre, with all conveniences, each would have 4000 Acres. Now you may suppose how small a quantity many must have when two or three hundred Landholders reside in each of these small Precincts; Hence we see Gentlemen, when they are not actually engaged in the publick Service, on their farms, setting a laborious example to their Domesticks, & on the other hand we see labourers at the Tables & in the Parlours of their Betters enjoying the advantage, & honour of their society and Conversation—I do not call it an objection to this, that some few, who have no substance but work like Slaves as necessity drives them for a few Months in the year; with the price of this Labour they visit Philadelphia; & having there acquired a fashionable Coat, & a Stock of Impudence, return home to spend the remainder of the year, in idleness & disgrace! — But you will find the tables turned the moment you enter this Colony. The very Slaves in some families here, could not be bought under 30000£. Such amazing property, no matter how deep it is involved, blows up the owners to an imagination, which is visible in all, but in various degrees according to their respective virtue, that they are exalted as much above other Men in worth & pre-

cedency, as blind stupid fortune has made a difference in their property; excepting always the value they put upon posts of honour, & mental acquirements — For example, if you should travel through this Colony, with a well-confirmed testimonial of your having finished with Credit a Course of studies at Nassau-Hall; you would be rated, without any more questions asked, either about your family, your Estate, your business, or your intention, at 10,000£; and you might come, & go, & converse, & keep company, according to this value; and you would be despised and slighted if you rated yourself a farthing cheaper. But when I am giving directions to you from an expectation that you will be shortly a resident here, altho you have gone through a College Course, & for anything I know, have never written a Libel, nor stolen a Turkey, yet I think myself in duty bound to advise you, lest some powdered Coxcomb should reproach your education, to cheapen your price about 5000£; because any young Gentleman travelling through the Colony, as I said before, is presumed to be acquainted with Dancing, Boxing, playing the Fiddle, & Small-Sword, & Cards. Several of which you was only entering upon, when I left New-Jersey; towards the Close of last year; and if you stay here any time your Barrenness in these must be detected. I will, however, allow, that in the Family where you act as tutor you place yourself, according to your most acute Calculation, at a perfect equidistance between the father & the eldest Son. Or let the same distance be observed in every article of behaviour between you & the eldest Son, as there ought to be, by the latest & most approved precepts of Moral-Philosophy, between the eldest Son & his next youngest Brother. But whenever you go from Home, where

you are to act on your own footing, either to a Ball; or to a *Horse-Race*, or to a *Cock-Fight*, or to a *Fish-Feast*, I advise that you rate yourself very low & if you bett at all, remember that 10,000£ in Reputation & learning does not amount to a handfull of Shillings in ready Cash! — One considerable advantage which you promise yourself by coming to this Colony is to extend the Limits of your acquaintance; this is laudable, & if you have enough of prudence & firmness, it will be a singular advantage — Yet attempt slowly & with the most Jealous Circumspection — If you fix your familiarity wrong in a single instance, you are in danger of total, if not immediate ruin — You come here, it is true, with an intention to teach, but you ought likewise to have an inclination to learn. At any rate I solemnly injoin it upon you, that you never suffer the Spirit of a Pedagogue to attend you without the walls of your little Seminary. In all promiscuous Company be as silent & attentive as Decency will allow you, for you have nothing to communicate, which such company, will hear with pleasure, but you may learn many things which, in after life, will do you singular service. — In regard to Company in general, if you think it worth your while to attend to my example, I can easily instruct you in the manner of my Conduct in this respect. I commonly attend Church; and often, at the request of Gentlemen, after Service according to the custom, dine abroad on Sunday — I seldom fail, when invited by M^r & M^{rs} Carter, of going out with them; but I make it a point, however strongly solicited to the contrary, to return with them too — Except in one of these cases, I seldom go out, but with a valuable variety of books I live according to Horace's direction. & love "*Secretum Iter et fallentis Semita Vitæ.*"

Close retirement and a life by Stealth. The last direction I shall venture to mention on this head, is, that you abstain totally from Women. What I would have you understand from this, is, that by a train of faultless conduct in the whole course of your tutorship, you make every Lady within the Sphere of your acquaintance, who is between twelve & forty years of age, so much pleased with your person, & so satisfied as to your ability in the capacity of a Teacher; & in short, fully convinced, that, from a principle of Duty, you have, both by night and by day endeavoured to acquit yourself honourably, in the Character of a Tutor; & that, on this account, you have their free and hearty consent, without making any manner of demand upon you, either to stay longer in the County with them, which they would choose, or whenever your business calls you away, that they may not have it in their Power either by charms or Justice to detain you, & when you must leave them, have their sincere wishes & constant prayers for Length of days & much prosperity, I therefore beg that you will attend literally to this advice, & abstain totally from Women. But this last precaution, which I have been at some pains to dress in the plainest language, I am much inclined to think, will be wholly useless in regard to you, notwithstanding it is founded in that *Honor* and *Equity* which is on all hands allow'd to be due from one Sex to the other, & to many of your *age*, & *Standing* would be entirely salutary. Because the necessary connections which you have had with the Fair, from your Puberty upwards have been so unfavourable & ill-fated, that instead of apprehending any danger on the score of your fondness, I am fearful your rancour has grown so inveterate at length, as, not only to preserve you, in

thought & practice, pure of every Fleshly foible, but has carried you so far towards the other extreme, that you will need many persuasions, when your circumstances shall seem to require it, to bring you back to a rational & manly habit of thinking & acting with respect to the Sex; which yet, after all (& eternally will continue to be, tho' it is so much courted & whined after) if considered in the fullest manner, & set forth to the best advantage, never rising above its divine definition Viz "The weaker Vessel." But without detaining you any longer with a matter merely depending on accident or Circumstance I pass on to the second General Head; in which "*Ludis atque Jocis amotis*" I shall offer to your consideration and recommend for your practice several Rules concerning the management of the School.

SECOND. You will act wisely, if, from the beginning, you convince all your Scholars which you may easily do, of your abilities in the several branches, which you shall profess to teach; you are not to tell them, *totidem Verbis*, "that you understand, perhaps as well as any man on the Continent both the Latin & Greek Classics;" "& have gone through the usual Course in the noted College of New-Jersey, under Dr Witherspoon, so universally known & admired, where you have studied Criticism, Oratory, History, not to mention Mathematical & philosophical Studies & dipt a good way into the French-Language, & that you have learned a smattering of Dancing, Cards, &c. &c. &c." For Dun—p or Hach—n or the most profound dunce in your College or School would have too much sense to pass such impudence by, & not despise and reproach it; but you may speedily & certainly make them think you a "Clever Fellow" (which is a phrase in use here

for a good Scholar) if you never mention anything before them, only what you seem to be wholly master of — This will teach them never to dispute your determination, & always to rely upon your judgements; two things which are most essential for your peace, & their advantage. That you may avoid yourself of this with certainty, I shall recommend for your practice the following method, as useful at least, if not entirely necessary. Read over carefully, the lessons in Latin & Greek, in your leisure hours, that the story & Language be fresh in your memory, when you are hearing the respective lessons; for your memory is treacherous, & I am pretty certain it would confound you if you should be accosted by a pert School-Boy, in the midst of a blunder, with “Physician heal thyself”! — You ought likewise to do this with those who are working Figures; probably you may think that because the highest Cypherer is only in decimal arithmetic, it is not therefore worth your critical attention to be looking previously into the several Sums. But you are to consider that a sum in the Square-Root, or even in the Single-Rule of three direct, is to your Pupils of as great importance, as the most abstruse problem in the Mathematicks to an able artist; & you may lay this down for a Maxim, that they will reckon upon your abilities, according as they find you acquainted & expert in what they themselves are studying. If therefore you have resolution (as I do not question your ability) to carry this plan which I have laid down into execution; you will thereby convince them of the propriety of their Subordination to you, & obedience to your instructions, so that you may lead them, without any resistance, and fix them to the Study of whatever Science you think proper, in which they will rise

according to their respective capacities. I have said that you ought to strive “from the beginning” in fixing this very material article in the minds of your Scholars, Viz a Sense of your authority; for one error of Judgment, or false determination will diminish your ability with them more than doing forty things with truth would increase your authority — They act in this case as you would do in the company of a number of Strangers — A whole evenings conversation, if it was tolerable good Sense, would perhaps make little or no impression on you; But if through hast in speaking, or inattention, any one would let fall a sentence either remarkably foolish, or grossly wicked, it would be difficult if not impossible to persuade you presently that the author was not either a *thick-Skull*, or a *Villain*! — The education of children requires constant unremitting attention. The meanest qualification you can mention in a useful teacher is *diligence*. And without diligence no possible abilities or qualifications can bring children on either with speed or profit. There must be a Combination of qualifications which must all operate strongly & uniformly. In short, give this said Pedagogizing the softest name you will, it is still a “difficult Task.” You will meet with numberless difficulties in your new employment, which you never dreamt had yet existence. All these you must endeavor to resist & Subdue. This I have seen compared to a Man swimming against a current of Water. But I am mistaken if you will agree, after having six months practice, that the comparison be strong as the truth: You will add to the figure, I am certain, & throw into the Current sharp fragments of *Ice*, & *Blocks*, which would make swimming not only difficult but dangerous! I am not urging these things to discourage you;

they are hints for your direction, which, if you will attend to, tho' at first the practice seem rough and unpleasant, shall yet make the remainder of your task pleasing, & the whole of it useful. I will mention several of these Obstacles that you may the more easily guard against them. You will, in the first place, be often solicited probably oftner than you would wish, to ride abroad; this, however, if you do it moderately, & in seasonable time, & go to proper company, I recommend as conducive to health to one in your sedentary manner of living. But if you go much into company, you will find it extremely difficult to break away with any manner of credit till very late at night or in most cases for several days, & if you are wanting to your School, you do manifest injury to your Employer. In this case, I advise you to copy M^r *Carter*. Whenever he invites you, ride. You may stay, and talk, & drink, & ride to as great excess as he; & may with safety associate yourself with those whom you find to be his intimates. In all other Cases, except when you ride to Church, at least till you are very intimate in the Colony, you had better ride to a certain Stump, or to some noted plantation, or pretty landscape; you will have in this every advantage of exercise, the additional advantage of undisturbed Meditation, & you will be under no Jealous apprehension in point of behaviour, nor any restraint as to the time of your return.

Another current difficulty will be petitions for holidays. You must have good deal of steadiness if you are able to evade cleverly this practice which has grown so habitual to your little charge from a false method in their early education that they absolutely claim it as a necessary right.

You must also as much as you can, avoid visible

partiality. At least you must never suffer your fondness for one Scholar to grow so manifest, as that all your School shall see you look over a fault in him or her which same fault, if committed by another, you severely chastise. This will certainly produce in the others hatred & contempt. A fourth difficulty, and the last I shall mention, consists in knowing when, & in what measure to give the Boys Liberty to go from Home. The two younger Boys are wholly under your inspection; so that not only the progress they make in learning, but their moral Conduct (for both of these are critically observed & examined) either justifies or condemns your management to the World. If you keep them much at home, & close to business, they themselves will call you unfeeling and cruel; & refuse to be industrious; if you suffer them to go much abroad they are certainly out of the way of improvement by Study, probably, by discovering their gross Ignorance, they will expose to ridicule both themselves and all their former instructors, & possibly they may commit actual Crimes so as very much to injure themselves, & scandalize their family; but in each of these you will have a large share of blame, perhaps more than the parents, or even the Boys themselves——It will be said that the parents gave them no license relying wholly on your judgment & prudence, this will in a good measure justify them to the world. And as to the Boys they are full of youthful impetuosity & vigour, & these compel them, when they are free of restraint, to commit actions which with proper management they had surely avoided. I say, when you lay these things together, & view them on every side you will find so many perplexities arising in your mind, from a sense of ignorance of your duty, that you will proceed with caution & moder-

ation, & will be carefull to examine with some precision into the circumstances of *time, company, & Business* when you license them to go out entirely at the risk of your Reputation — But the practice of three or four Weeks will give you a more full notion of these and many other incidents that I am able now either to recollect or express; I shall have gained my End if these hints prevent you from setting off wrong, & doing inadvertently at first what your Scholars will assert to be precedents for your after conduct. I go on, therefore, in the third place as I proposed.

THIRD. To mention several Rules for your personal conduct. The happy education which you have had in point of religion, you ought to consider as an important and distinguishing Blessing of Heaven. That train of useful *Instruction, Advice, & Example* to which you have been accustomed from your infancy is a more perfect, & will be a safer guide in your future walk, than any directions I am able to give you. You have taken notice of a method for assistance in Composition, which Longinus recommends.

Place, says he, in imagination, several eminent ancient Authors before your Eyes, & suppose that they inspect your Work, a Sense of inferiority would make you diligent, & your composition accurate. Perhaps the same advice when transferred to Morality, would be equally salutary. Unless it be objected that a Belief of Gods presence at all times in every place is the strongest possible restraint against committing sin. This I constantly admit; but when I consider how easily our minds are put in motion, & how strongly they are sometimes agitated merely by the senses, & that the senses are affected most by things which fall under their immediate notice, I am fully convinced that

if some such plan as I have just mentioned should be fallen upon, & practised, it would make a visible and useful change in our behaviour — In this place I think it needful to caution you against hasty and ill founded prejudices.

When you enter among a people, & find that their manner of living, their *Eating, Drinking, Diversions, Exercise*, &c, are in many respects different from anything you have been accustomed to, you will be apt to fix your opinion in an instant, & (as some divines deal with poor Sinners) you will condemn all before you without any meaning or distinction what seems in your judgment disagreeable at first view, when you are smitten with the novelty. You will be making ten thousand Comparisons. The face of the Country, The *Soil*, the *Buildings*, the *Slaves*, the *Tobacco*, the method of spending *Sunday* among Christians; *Ditto* among the Negroes; the three grand divisions of time at the Church on Sundays, Viz. before Service, giving & receiving letters of business, reading Advertisements, consulting about the price of Tobacco, Grain, &c. & settling either the lineage, Age, or qualities of favourite Horses. 2. In the Church at Service, prayers read over in haste, a Sermon seldom under & never over twenty minutes, but always made up of sound morality, or deep studied Metaphysicks. 3. After Service is over three quarters of an hour spent in strolling round the Church among the Crowd, in which time you will be invited by several different Gentlemen home with them to dinner. The Balls, the Fish-Feasts, the Dancing-Schools, the Christnings, the Cock fights, the Horse-Races, the Chariots, the Ladies Masked, for it is a custom among the Westmorland Ladies whenever they go from home, to muffle up their heads, & Necks, leaving only a narrow passage

for the Eyes, in Cotton or silk handkerchiefs; I was in distress for them when I first came into the Colony, for every Woman that I saw abroad, I looked upon as ill either with the *Mumps* or Tooth-Ach! — I say, you will be often observing & comparing these things which I have enumerated, & many more that now escape me, with the manner of spending Money time & credit at Cohansie: You are young, & (you will allow me the Expression) in the morning of Life. But I hope you have plann'd off, and entered upon the work which is necessary to be performed in the course of your Day; if not, I think it my duty to acquaint you, that a combination of the amusements which I have just now mentioned, being always before your Eyes, & inviting your Compliance will have a strong tendency to keep you doubtful & unsettled, in your notions of Morality & Religion, or else will fix you in a false & dangerous habit of *thinking* & *acting*, which must terminate at length in Sorrow & despair. You are therefore, if you count anything upon the value of my advice, to fix the plan in which you would spend your life; let this be done with deliberation, Candour, & precision, looking to him for direction, by fervent Prayr, who is the “Wonderful Counsellor”; & when you have done this, let no importunity of whatever kind prevail over you, & cause you to transgress your own Limitations. I have already exceeded the usual bounds of an Epistle. But you will easily pardon a little prolixity, when I assure you it flows from a heart deeply impressed with a sense of the many difficulties which you must encounter, & the dangers which will surround you when you come first out from the peaceful recess of Contemplation, & enter, young and unexperienced, into the tumultuous undiscerning World. I submit these hints

Colony, a Merchant of Note, I shall thank you if you will take some notice of him, — and by him, as he is to return immediately I beg you write — Tell me how matters go in Town — Tell me what you know of the Country — Tell me much about the *Sex* you love — Remember to ask M^r. Blain the hour he returns, and don't fail to send me a line

I am, Sir,

with great regard,

Yours,

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

To Palatiah Webster.

[TO NATHANIEL DONNARD, JR.¹]

NOMINI HALL, Aug^t. 21st. 1774.

SIR.

I wrote you a line in great haste, just before I left home, and two days before that I had the pleasure of your company with ladies in an evening excursion — We have here no artificial gardens; Nor can we select out a company of sociable equals whenever we are in a humour for a walk —

Here we either strain on Horse back from home to Church, or from house to House if we go out at all — Or we walk alone into a dark Meadow, or tall wood — But I love solitude, and these lonely recesses suit exactly the feeling of my mind — I recived lately a letter from Cohansie, in which I am informed of the

¹The following is taken from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 7, 1774. The "Captain Nathaniel Donnell" referred to is no doubt a relative of the "Nath'l Donnard Jun'r" mentioned above.

"On Wednesday, 31st ult. departed this life . . . Mrs. Anna Donnell, the beloved and affectionate wife of Captain NATHANIEL DONNELL, of this City" (Philadelphia).

Death of Uncle *Seeley* — The family and neighbourhood will have suffered a great loss! — I suppose you join in the general language, and assert your liberties and oppose oppression. I hope at least you are on the right side of the question. The City, I dare say, is in great tumult if not in consternation. I wish it was convenient for me to be in town when the gentlemen from the respective Colonies shall meet in general Congress — This is out of my power, but I can wish for their union, and usefulness. M^r *Blain*, the gentleman who forwards my letter, is a Merchant of Note, in this Colony, you will oblige me if you take notice of him while he is in Town. — You will not fail to write me a line, and give to M^r *Blain* the moment you receive mine, lest he leave town and I be disappointed.

My compliments to all friends,
from Sir,

Yours

P. V. FITHIAN.

M^r Nath^l Donnalld, Jun^r

[To JOHN MCCALLA, JR.]

NOMINI HALL Virginia, Aug^t 22^d 1774.

SIR.

Since I left you I have not heard a syllable about you, whether the ague had left you, whether you have left the City removed to Alexandria, as you proposed in the spring, in short both yourself and fame have been, as to you, wholly silent —

I have now an opportunity which I gladly improve of sending you a line, and I beg that by the same conveyance you will send me an Answer — There are many from this Colony to attend the general Congress,

seven by appointment,¹ the others out of curiosity, by M^r *Blain*, a gentleman of my acquaintance in this Colony, a Merchant of Note I forward this; you will oblige me if you use him with civility.—

I cannot write home at present; if you should write soon to Cohansie, please to mention to whoever you write to that I am in good health; that the neighbourhood is in good health; and that I propose to return home about the latter end of october —

I can transmit nothing now concerning public affairs, you will know by the gentlemen from this province that the reigning spirit is liberty — I hope M^r & M^{rs} Hollingshead keep clear of the fevers this fall; but I fear they will suffer in that common calamity. I think they ought to remove to the City for a few weeks in september when the disorder rages where they reside — My best compliments attend your family, and to Miss *Pratt*, Miss *Boy'd* and others of my acquaintance in town as shall be convenient.

I am, Sir, with great truth
and Regard your most obedient
Most humble Serv^t

P. V. FITHIAN.

M^r John M^c Calla, Jun^r

I shall thank you if you will send me the latest Journal, Gazette, and the Packet.

[TO HARRY WILLIS AND ROBERT CARTER, JR.]

NOMINI HALL Oct^r 6th 1774.

FOR MASTERS HARRY & BOB.

I approve highly of the method you have taken in

¹ The seven Virginia delegates were, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton.

asking for liberty to attend the race this afternoon, and think myself bound to give you an answer in the same manner.

This Race, happening so soon after the other, which was at the same place, and so much like it seems to promise nothing that can require your attendance, it is therefore my *desire* and *advice* that you stay contented at home. But if your inclination be stronger than either of these, and you still choose to go, you have my consent provided you return by Sunset in the Evening.

Yours

PHILIP V. FITHIAN.

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